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Assessing the Effects of Prevent Policing

A Report to the Association of Chief Police Officers

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides an assessment of the effects of Prevent policing. Informed by analyses of the British Crime Survey and ninety-five in-depth interviews with Muslim community members (n=53) and police involved in delivering Prevent (n=42), it seeks to develop an evidence-led account of what Prevent policing has and has not achieved since its inception in 2003. To date, there have been numerous commentaries and policy-level analyses of Prevent and of the legislative frameworks associated with it. There have been far fewer fieldwork based studies that have systematically sought to gather evidence about how Prevent interventions are being delivered, perceived and experienced in different areas.

The analysis combines national level survey data with a more focused investigation in four areas of England and Wales: South London and Surrey; West Midlands; Greater Manchester; and Cardiff. These areas were selected on the basis of their different demographic and threat profiles, thus providing an opportunity to explore how Prevent policing is being implemented in different settings. Three of the sites were also the focus for fieldwork originally conducted between 2003-05, thus affording an opportunity to assess how the implementation of Prevent policing has been developing over time.¹

The evidence suggests that Prevent is configured and operationalised differently across the research sites, and the variations in key processes and systems possess different strengths and weaknesses. Whilst accepting that the operationalisation of Prevent needs to reflect local needs and risks, it does not appear that these local variations have been derived from evidence-based assessments. Rather, they are products of system legacies and opinion.

The defining quality of Prevent is that it has institutionalised an overt counter-terrorism policing capacity focused upon addressing individual and community level risks in a predictive and pre-emptive fashion. The interviews conducted with police staff suggest it has taken some time to establish a defined 'space' for Prevent in the policing system. Most officers now conceptualise Prevent policing as a blended methodology integrating elements of traditional counter-terrorism policing with practices derived and distilled from Neighbourhood Policing. This connection to Neighbourhood Policing is important because there is strong evidence that Prevent work cannot be disconnected from more mainstream policing concerns. Rather, Prevent policing is enhanced and may even be dependent upon the efficacy of more routine policing services.

Reflecting this genealogy, Prevent policing pivots around three main activities:

- Community engagement and community intelligence generation;
- Identifying and mounting disruptions against presenting risks; and
- Community impact management.

¹ A full account of the methods used and the constraints upon the analysis is provided in the Appendix to the main report. The base numbers for all Tables and Figures are available in a Technical Appendix available upon request from upsi@cardiff.ac.uk.

Prevent policing utilises two principal forms of community engagement:

- Internal engagement: where Prevent officers network with other police staff, particularly in the Counter-Terrorism Units and Neighbourhood Policing Teams. It also encompasses working with staff across different partner agencies.
- External engagement: is more public facing, and concerns the ability to connect directly with citizens and with civil society groups.

Disruptive interventions are identified as a particularly important component of Prevent policing. In principle, they provide an effective mechanism for dealing with activities by extremists that are anti-social and undesirable, but not illegal. In this sense, disruption constitutes the ‘harder-edge’ of Prevent policing. However, the empirical evidence suggests that awareness and confidence about how, when, where and why to engage disruptive interventions was sometimes lacking. Indeed, disruption as a viable and cost-effective policing tactic is amongst the least developed components of Prevent policing.

There has been considerable intellectual, political and economic investment in developing and enhancing Prevent activity in recent years. Accordingly, the study examines how Prevent policing practice has been evolved, and the ways in which its different components and configurations are performing. To facilitate this, the current research has revisited three sites that were part of the earlier 2003-05 study. Differences in methodology and sampling constrain the comparisons that can be drawn between the two studies, but this approach does enable some broad patterns and changes to be inferred. Compared with the earlier findings it has been found that Prevent policing has:

- Matured and evolved in terms of key processes and practices;
- A greater awareness of key risks, threats and vulnerabilities, albeit this awareness is unevenly distributed;
- Increased capacity and capability to respond proactively and reactively to these risks, threats and vulnerabilities.

By distinguishing between whether it is the police or community that identifies and defines the presence of a problem, and who assumes principal responsibility for leading the response, it is possible to identify four key intervention modes:

| | Police Defined | Community Defined |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Police Delivered | Protective | Type 1 Co-production |
| Community Delivered | Type 2 Co-production | Mobilisation |

Table A: The Four Prevent Policing Intervention Modes

These four modal Prevent policing interventions are described below:

- Protective – is where the police ‘own’ the intervention. The tactics they engage can vary from disruption to law enforcement, but the crucial aspect is that the nature of the problem is determined and responded to by police.
- Mobilisation – is the converse to the above. In effect, the problem is identified by the community and they harness their informal social control resources to construct a self-help response. This response can range from direct community interventions through to awareness raising. Critically though, police and their local authority partners are reduced to bystanders, or indeed they may be wholly unaware of the activity.
- Type 1 Co-production – in some situations, the police act to deal with issues brought to their attention by the community. This type of collaborative working has been previously documented in other situations in the research literature. As part of Prevent, this mode is engaged for two main reasons. First, because a problem is sufficiently troubling that it is beyond the scope of purely community-led interventions to impact upon it. Second, on some occasions police craft a response principally to build community trust and confidence.
- Type 2 Co-production – The final ideal-type is where police identify a problematic issue, but enable or encourage community-based actors to deal with it. This can either be through material / practical support, or more tacit forms of backing. Engaging this style of collaboration in Prevent work reflects how some problems encountered are complex and cannot be effectively treated through application of the criminal law. To the best of our knowledge, this style of working has not been previously identified by researchers.

Compared with the 2003-05 data, the presence of these different modes of intervention evidences a more complex and sophisticated approach to delivering a response to radicalisation risks and threats. The interview data clearly capture that community participation in co-productive working to solve problems is involving both organisations that are formally funded by Prevent, but also more ‘organic’ forms of activism. However, reflecting a key finding of the earlier report, it remains the case that Muslim communities continue to express a preference for using their own informal social control resources to solve a problem when this is (or at least is believed to be) feasible.

There is some evidence that the capacity of communities to self-mobilise or engage in co-productive working may be shaped, at least in part, by the presence or otherwise of individuals with professional community organising skills. This would suggest that enlisting such individuals at a local level into the Prevent agenda could be an important objective for the police.

Tensions between the ‘Prevent’ and ‘Pursue’ strands are evident on occasion. Where this happens there is a tendency to defer to Pursue. From the accounts provided it is clear that when Pursue interventions are undertaken with little thought for their impacts upon longer-term Prevent initiatives they can leave a difficult legacy. Where communities can be engaged in influencing how problems are addressed, then any longer-term repercussions may be less pronounced.

Prevent teams are increasingly acting in a 'consequence management' role for Pursue operations, utilising community impact assessment methods.

The evidence suggests that many Muslims hold quite complex and sophisticated views about the Prevent programme. Frequently, across the course of a single interview, community representatives talked both positively and negatively about their encounters with Prevent. To understand their perspectives it is helpful to differentiate between means and ends. Many of those interviewed accepted that there was a problem with violent extremism that had to be dealt with:

- In part, this reflects the fact that of the 12 Mosques and Islamic societies spoken to as part of this study in different parts of the country, 11 reported having encounters on multiple occasions with proscribed groups. Some had succeeded in rebuffing these advances, others had not.

Many of the reservations expressed about Prevent policing centred upon the means sometimes implemented. In particular, objections were registered about how Prevent funding had gone to groups who were not delivering much practical benefit. These concerns were reinforced by the wide-ranging disposition of the Prevent programme and the tendency for it to define Muslims' relations with key state agencies, such as the police.

Overall, the attitudes and perceptions of people belonging to Muslim communities can be divided into three main positions:

- Some are fundamentally 'anti-Prevent' and anti-police. This stance views the entire Prevent agenda as flawed and misconceived. Whilst this 'strong critique' of Prevent policing has achieved some political traction, the evidence collated suggests that it is not a mainstream or majority view within Muslim communities.
- At the other end of the continuum are people who are 'advocates' of Prevent. They accept the premises of Prevent and are often actively engaged in helping to deliver it, either within or outside of formal programme structures.
- In between these two positions are a large group of 'non-aligned' Muslims, whose views shift according to the unfolding of events. For many of these, a 'weaker' critique of Prevent does have some resonance in that they disagree with how some aspects of it have been delivered, but accept that ultimately there is a problem that needs to be confronted. Their concerns are pragmatically grounded in terms of how interventions should and should not be delivered.

The police role in Prevent appeared to be viewed more positively than the wide-ranging remit afforded to the local authority based 'Preventing Violent Extremism' element. Overall though, there was a strong sense in the data of Prevent being a 'tainted' brand'. Such views have been strongly influenced by the legacy of how Prevent was initially introduced in a hurry without establishing clarity of mission, or testing of appropriate tactical and strategic interventions. These concerns notwithstanding, appropriately configured targeted policing interventions did receive community support and backing.

This perhaps explains why, when we turn to examine the national survey data, a number of important patterns are revealed:

- Taken as a whole, Muslims express higher levels of trust and confidence in the police than do the general population. This is in spite of them reporting crime and disorder impacts more negatively upon them than do the general population.

This is an important finding because it challenges the oft repeated claim that Muslim communities in the UK are being profoundly alienated and disenchanted by the workings of the Prevent programme. The evidence available for this study suggests that the actual situation is somewhat more complex.

- Time trend analysis of a number of general policing indicators contained within the BCS covering the period in which Prevent has been implemented shows that Muslim community perceptions of the police have been remarkably stable, and largely positive.
- It is thus concluded that Prevent policing does not appear to be causing widespread damage to police and Muslim community relations.

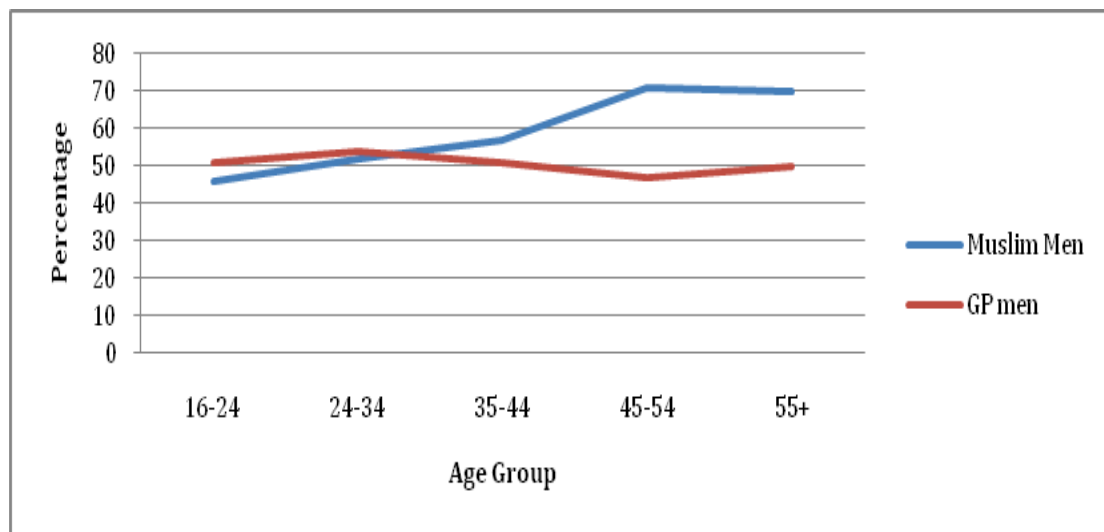
The BCS data are important in this respect in that they are likely to access more mainstream Muslim views than tends to feature in public debates focused explicitly upon Prevent, which are typically conducted between those who are either explicit proponents or opponents of the strategy. More detailed analysis of the British Crime Survey shows for example:

- Confidence in the police is lower amongst young Muslim men. However, a significant proportion of this group still express relatively high opinions of the police. This pattern of more negative views amongst young Muslim men is similar to, and only marginally more accentuated than, the similar patterns observed for young men in the general population.
- There is also an effect amongst Muslim women aged 45 plus, who have lower confidence than might be expected. This group of people also has less direct contact than any other in the Muslim faith community with the police.
- The latter effect may result from women experiencing policing through the accounts of their sons, who are subject to more police attention on the streets. Because they have less direct contact with the police themselves, they are more susceptible to their views being negatively influenced by the stories they are told.

This latter finding has potential practical ramifications inasmuch as it is these mothers who might well be best positioned to pick up on the early warning signals when young people are at risk of becoming involved with extremist groups.

Aspects of these findings are summarised in the following graph based upon BCS data.

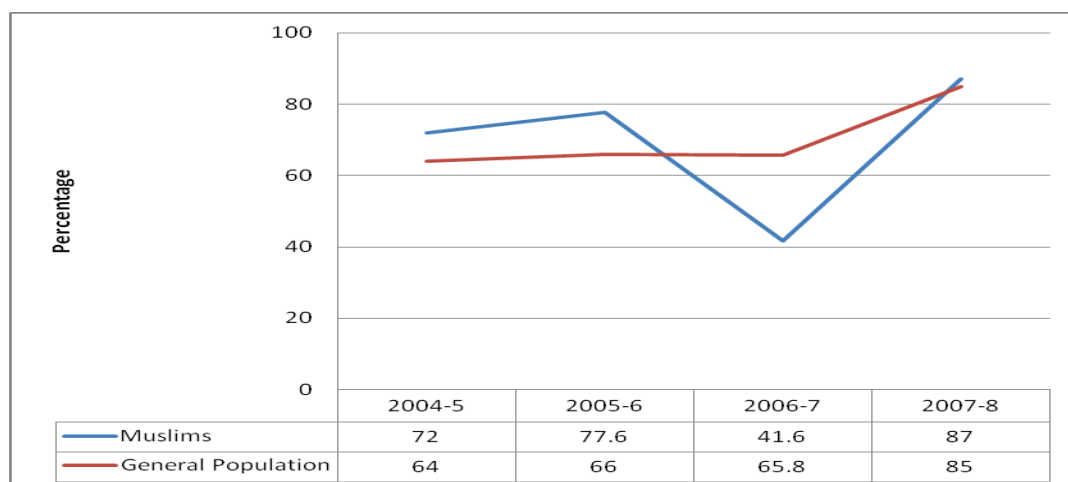
FIGURE A: Percentage of Muslim Men Rating the Police as 'Excellent' or 'Good'



Source: British Crime Survey 2008/09

Using the BCS to track levels of perceived community cohesion revealed an interesting finding. In 2006/07 Muslim perceptions of cohesiveness declined dramatically. This subsequently recovered but it is hypothesised that this may reflect events following the bombings in London in 2005.

FIGURE B: Perceived Cohesiveness Over Time



British Crime Survey data further suggests that Muslim communities have particular neighbourhood security concerns about the prevalence of:

- Youth disorder;
- Drug use and dealing;
- Burglary;
- Hate crime.

It was found though, that compared with the general population Muslims are much less likely to report crime victimisations to police. Configuring a policing response that deals effectively with these key concerns might therefore be a good investment in terms of building trust and confidence.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The aim of this study is to provide a balanced, evidence-led and non-partisan assessment of Prevent policing and its effects. The research finds that:

(1) Over the period of time that the Prevent strategy has been implemented, mainstream Muslim community views of the police have remained stable, relatively positive and consistent. This picture is derived from analysis of a number of general policing indicators contained in the British Crime Survey. It suggests that Prevent policing has not caused widespread damage to police-Muslim community relations. There is a potentially modest effect found for the negative attitudes of young Muslim men to the police, but this is only slightly more accentuated than the similar pattern observable amongst young men in the general population and in other minority ethnic groups.

(2) Some of the key practices and processes associated with Prevent policing have been developed in important ways in recent years. As a blended policing methodology integrating aspects of traditional counter-terrorism work with Neighbourhood Policing, Prevent policing has acquired more nuance and sophistication. Its particular distinguishing feature is that it has institutionalised an overt counter-terrorism policing capability.

(3) By attending carefully to the complex and delicate issues involved in the conduct of Prevent policing, a number of areas where its delivery and effectiveness could be improved are identified. The social problems that Prevent is engaging with are immensely difficult and challenging, and there is evidence that police have sometimes applied inappropriate tactics and strategy.

(4) Prevent policing is being operationalised in different ways across a range of settings. Innovative ways of doing Prevent policing are being crafted. However, the processes, structures, skills and knowledge required to support such approaches have developed at different rates across individual police forces. A degree of situational configuration to respond to local circumstances is both necessary and desirable. However, it would seem appropriate to try to arbitrate between the various models to establish 'what works'.

(5) The overall quality of police-community engagement practices can be assessed on the basis of their capacity to 'reach down' and 'reach across' communities. The former refers to the ability to get beyond 'surface' level contacts to access detailed information about a local situation. In contrast, reach across is concerned with establishing a viable community intelligence network that connects with the various groupings that collectively constitute Muslim communities. At a local level the presence of these networks can be 'stress tested' to confirm their presence and resilience. This reflects an empirical finding

that whilst police are visible within Muslim communities, they are not translating this presence into inter-personal engagements.

(6) Disruption is emerging as an important tactical policing option for inhibiting the often sub-criminal activities of extremists. However, to date the processes of how to design and implement effective disruptive interventions appear to have been relatively neglected. An established tactical menu of options for conducting disruptions has yet to be distilled from practice.

(7) Four key intervention modes for Prevent policing were identified from the qualitative data. Their presence suggests that increasing direct community participation, both within and outside of formal Prevent programme structures, is affording a more nuanced set of responses to particular risks, threats and vulnerabilities.

(8) Where individuals and communities take the lead in local Prevent interventions this can involve exposure to substantial personal risks or retaliation. This is one of several emergent challenges for Prevent where it was not clear how effective the policing response is. The ability to protect those challenging extremists is especially taxing when this happens outside of the formal structures of the Prevent programme.

(9) Across the four research sites there were a relatively small number of key individuals residing and working in the local communities who were effective social networkers, displaying the ability to connect and mobilise different groups and factions. In police intelligence systems, 'high value' is easily attached to 'what' people know, rather than 'who'. The kinds of co-productive working being leveraged by Prevent policing frequently depends upon the participation of 'high value social networkers'.

(10) The process of implementing Prevent policing has progressed through three key phases. The first related to the initial introduction of the cross-government CONTEST strategy. During this period, Prevent was being delivered in a low visibility manner, consistent with orthodox counter-terrorism methodology. It lacked both capacity and capability. The second phase in the development of Prevent is associated with the shift to CONTEST II where there was a reconfiguration of assets, but no significant innovations in public-facing delivery. Here there was the growing of a specific Prevent capacity, but it initially lacked the requisite practical capabilities. Phase three in the evolution of Prevent policing has occurred within the last two years and involves the development of more transparent and overt forms of counter-terrorism work. It seems that as Prevent has bedded down, and officers have become more confident in what they are doing, they have been more willing to innovate and try new ways to accomplish key strategic and tactical objectives. This has seen the establishment of defined Prevent policing capabilities and capacity.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This report details findings from a research study designed to assess the effects of police involvement in the delivery of the Prevent programme. Prevent is a multi-disciplinary, cross departmental strand of the government's CONTEST strategy intended to provide a holistic response to the full spectrum of terrorist risks and threats. Originally introduced in 2003, Prevent underwent a major 'refresh' in March 2009 as part of the implementation of CONTEST II. This included the introduction of a specific Prevent policing strategy accompanied by detailed implementation guidance. This strategic re-orientation was undertaken in recognition of the fact that the original formulation of CONTEST had significantly accented the Pursue strand of activity, and failed to develop Prevent. CONTEST II defines five main and two supporting objectives for the Prevent programme.² These are to:

- Challenge the ideology behind violent extremism and support mainstream voices;
- Disrupt those who promote violent extremism and support the places where they operate;
- Support individuals who are vulnerable to recruitment, or have already been recruited by violent extremists;
- Increase the resilience of communities to violent extremism;
- Address the grievances which ideologues are exploiting;
- Develop supporting intelligence, analysis, and information;
- Improve strategic communications.

In practice, working towards these objectives pivots around three main types of activity:

- Counter-radicalisation – focuses upon inhibiting the spread and influence of extremist ideas both generally and in specific cases;
- De-radicalisation – involves acts to reduce the influence of extremist ideas where they have gained traction;
- Community cohesion building – is focused upon increasing the resilience of communities so that they are less likely to be influenced by extremist views.

The coalition government is currently in the process of reviewing the counter-terrorism strategy and a revised and refocused formulation of Prevent will be set out when the review reports in May 2011. Strategically, the current iteration of Prevent places strong emphasis upon involving and coordinating multiple partners at the local level, including police, local government, social enterprise organisations and civil society organisations. The particular focus of this study is upon the police's role in these activities and what difference, if any, they have made. Specifically, the research addresses the following questions:

² Home Office (2009) Pursue, Prevent, Protect, Prepare: The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism. London: Home Office.

- Have local Prevent policing systems and processes altered the willingness of the public to pass 'community intelligence' to police?
- Have the perceptions and experiences of Muslim communities in relation to crime, disorder and policing changed in recent years? If so, are the trends similar to those for other communities?
- Are the neighbourhood security needs of people from the Muslim faith similar to those of people from other backgrounds, and if they are different, are these differences recognised in local service delivery?
- How do practitioners involved in local Prevent delivery assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of current implementation arrangements?
- What indicators are available that could be used to assess the relative performance of different Prevent delivery mechanisms locally?

In engaging with these questions, the study is informed by data from two main sources:

- Cross sectional and time-trend analyses of several sweeps of the British Crime Survey from 2004-2009;
- Semi-structured qualitative interviews with those involved in the delivery of Prevent. This includes both police staff and also representatives of Muslim communities who have been 'recipients' of Prevent services.

These data afford a more evidence-led perspective on how Prevent is being configured and delivered, and what it is, and is not, accomplishing. This is significant in that the Prevent programme and counter-terrorism strategy more generally have been hotly debated.³ However, these debates are often based on little more than anecdote and opinion. In contrast, this study seeks to develop a more nuanced and rounded view, informed by the best available evidence.

The research evidence informing the study is drawn from both qualitative and quantitative sources. Quantitative data are derived from the British Crime Survey. Both cross-sectional data (from the 2008/09 BCS, or combined 2007/08 and 2008/09 surveys) and trended data (from the 2004/05 through to 2008/09 surveys) are used to identify key patterns. As a large nationally representative survey, the BCS provides a comprehensive source of information that can be used to compare Muslim attitudes, perceptions and experiences with those of the general population. In the 2008/09 survey 983 respondents self-identified with the Muslim faith, and in 2004/05, 2005/06 and 2006/07, nearly 1800 Muslim respondents were sampled.

Because of how the BCS is structured, with some questions only asked to a subset of the sample, on occasion data from the preceding years survey has been combined to permit a robust analysis. Where this has been done it is clearly indicated in the text. The BCS does not ask any direct questions about

³ A useful summary is provided in the report from the Communities and Local Government Committee (2010) Preventing Violent Extremism, Sixth Report of Session 2009-10. London: House of Commons.

perceptions or experiences of Prevent policing. It does, however, provide a set of wide-ranging indicators that are likely to be shaped by such dimensions of police practice. As such, and as discussed in detail in due course, it should be noted that across the analyses of these very different indicators a strongly consistent pattern emerges. These patterns and trends are confirmed, supplemented and augmented by analysis of the qualitative data.

The in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted in four research sites. Table 1 lists the number of police and community interviews conducted in each area.

| Site Name | No. Police Staff Interviews | No. Community Interviews |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| West Midlands | 12 | 20 |
| Surrey & South London | 10 | 20 |
| Greater Manchester | 12 | 3 |
| Cardiff | 8 | 10 |

Table 1: Number of Interviews by Site

The top three sites were selected on the basis that they had previously been the subject of a study several years ago examining the policing of radicalisation risks (described in more detail below). Owing to differences in methodology and sampling between the two studies, it is not possible to draw direct comparisons between Prevent then and now across these three sites. However, the earlier work does provide a point of contrast, enabling some sense of how Prevent policing has evolved and adapted to be constructed. There has been considerable intellectual, political and economic investment in developing Prevent in recent years, and thus it is important to try and trace out how different aspects and configurations are, or are not performing. The Cardiff site was added because during the period of preparation for the research it became evident that the risk profile in the City was changing. Police intelligence was suggesting that although historically South Wales had seen few such problems, it was now being targeted by extremist groups for possible recruitment. Consequently, it was felt that conducting research as events unfolded might offer unique insights. The data and method underpinning the study are described in more detail in the Appendix.

BACKDROP

In 2007 the authors published a study commissioned by ACPO (TAM) examining the community context of radicalisation and counter-radicalisation efforts.⁴ Based upon semi-structured interviews with people from Muslim communities conducted between 2003-05, this earlier study outlined an approach that was

⁴ Innes, M., L. Abbott, T. Lowe and C. Roberts (2007) *Hearts and Minds and Eyes and Ears: Reducing Radicalisation Risks Through Reassurance-Oriented Policing*. London: ACPO.

influential in shaping the development of Prevent policing strategy. Informed by a combination of primary research data and a review of available secondary sources, the 2007 study identified a number of interacting 'push' and 'pull' factors that render certain individuals more susceptible to extremist influences. This 'situational model of violent radicalisation' posited that it is a combination of these 'catalysts' and 'conditions' acting in concert that makes people 'radicalisable'. The inculcation of this vulnerability may be time-limited and some individuals will only ever be subject to 'shallow radicalisation', whereas for others it will involve a 'deeper' form. Importantly though, it was suggested that a number of these key factors were local issues and as such, inhibiting the onset of radicalisation processes could be achieved via targeted local interventions. Accordingly, it was identified that an effective local counter-terrorism policing approach should combine an 'eyes and ears' and a 'hearts and minds' strategy.

The former is concerned with establishing channels for communication between police and local community members. A predicate of effective counter-terrorism policing is that mechanisms should be in place so that police can become aware of the concerns and issues that are being picked up by a local community. The capacity and willingness of local communities to function as the eyes and ears of the police though, is enhanced by and possibly even dependent upon the workings of a 'hearts and minds' strategy. This is about shaping the community context in order that people are persuaded of the necessity and desirability of conveying any suspicions or concerns to the police.

There was evidence in the original study that even when confronted with evidence that extremist groups were active within their communities, people saw the police as a last resort. Reflecting comparatively high levels of collective efficacy, they preferred to try and manufacture community-based solutions to any difficulties being encountered and would only tend to involve the police where these community efforts had failed, or possible threats were imminent. This preference for community solutions was compounded by the repercussions that they perceived would follow if their suspicions or allegations proved unfounded. They were not keen to provide information to police where there were uncertainties about its accuracy. In sum, the balance of evidence suggested that in the mid-2000s Prevent was failing to gain traction. The communities' hearts and minds had not been won, and as a consequence they did not feel compelled to act as the eyes and ears of the police in terms of communicating community intelligence about when and where new risks and threats might be presenting.

One aspect of the current research is to assess what progress is being made in moving past these inhibitors. As such, the study is positioned to attend particularly closely to how Prevent policing is being delivered 'on the ground'. Attending to the local dimension is important, both in reflecting the evidence derived from the earlier study in terms of what catalyses and provides the conditions for the onset of radicalisation, but also because of the importance the Prevent Policing strategy has placed upon local action. For example, in the Preface to the ACPO Implementation Plan (2008:4), Sir Norman Bettison asserts that,

In particular, it is important to acknowledge the universal contribution that Neighbourhood Policing can bring to the delivery of a multi agency and co-ordinated local response, grounded in community engagement and informed by community intelligence...Neighbourhood Policing therefore represents a platform to begin the engagement, and the intelligence gathering, that is necessary in fulfilling the police strategy.

The next Chapter of the report focuses upon the structures and processes underpinning the delivery of Prevent. Informed by data collected through the semi-structured interviews it examines how Prevent policing is organised across the four research sites. Attention then shifts to how the police interventions are being received within Muslim communities. This is followed by an analysis examining some high level outcome indicators that can be derived from the British Crime Survey. These data challenge some of the well-known assumptions that have been made about Prevent in public and political debates. Refining and extending this analysis, the subsequent Chapters afford a more granular 'high resolution' perspective. They look at Prevent policing in particular localities and amongst key population sub-groups. The Conclusion draws together the key findings and sets out the recommendations derived from the analysis.

CHAPTER 2: THE ORGANISATION AND DELIVERY OF PREVENT POLICING

In order to establish a framework for assessing its effects, this Chapter examines how Prevent policing is organized. For if we are to understand Prevent policing and its association or otherwise with a range of outputs and outcomes, it is first necessary to craft an understanding of its key processes and structures. Drawing in particular upon the qualitative interviews conducted with police officers and staff engaged in delivering Prevent services, the Chapter examines how police self-assess the benefits and limitations of the ways in which they are currently organized. It should be clarified that the purpose of this discussion is not to inspect the quality of key processes and systems, nor to identify best practice recommendations. Rather, the aims are to:

- Describe the arrangements that underpin how Prevent policing is being delivered and explain why some of the key variations observed have been introduced;
- Use insights from police officers to construct some assessment of the effectiveness of such modes of organization, and their respective strengths and weaknesses;
- Develop an understanding of where there are opportunities for improvements to be introduced in processes and systems, in order for Prevent work to be delivered more effectively.

The Chapter identifies some of the key themes relating to how police officers and staff involved in the delivery of Prevent policing conceptualise and conduct this work.

PREVENT AND COUNTER-TERRORIST POLICING

Following the attacks in America in 2001, Madrid 2004 and London 2005, as well as the growing number of attempted but disrupted plots, the organization and principal methodologies of counter-terrorism work have been undergoing significant reform. In the UK much of this innovation has taken place under the auspices of the Prevent programme. The other strands of the cross-government CONTEST strategy have effectively evolved out of and continued the kinds of working practices associated with established counter-terrorist methods. The Prevent element is more distinctive. There are two dimensions that define the unique properties of Prevent policing: it institutionalizes logics of prevention, preemption and precaution; and it establishes a wide-reaching 'overt' CT capacity.

Compared with the approach adopted by Prevent, the traditional model of CT policing was far more narrowly conceived and placed more accent upon the need for 'covert' activity.⁵ In effect it was predicated upon a threat-centric model. That is, the principal focus was upon intercepting and interdicting motivated offenders. Much police activity was designed to be conducted in a comparatively

⁵ See Innes, M. and D. Thiel (2008) 'Policing terror', in T. Newburn (ed.) *The Handbook of Policing* (2nd edn.). Cullompton: Willan.

low visibility fashion. Within this framing preventative measures, were largely about disrupting plots and plotters. Relatedly, there was a more or less explicit focus upon the key individuals engaged in the conduct of political violence, or those providing direct support to them. Under the auspices of the CONTEST strategy, this focus is now largely the preserve of the 'Pursue' strand, which is envisaged as functioning in interaction with the Prevent programme.

Though the above is a somewhat simplified and superficial depiction of Pursue, the key point is that compared with this orthodox model of CT policing the Prevent programme's rationale was both 'wider' and 'deeper' in its reach. It was predicated upon the notion that reducing the risks of violent extremism involves two distinct sets of actions:

- General community level interventions designed to inhibit and decay existing and potential social support for violent extremist ideologies. Thus Prevent is as much concerned with the social environment in which risks and threats are propagated, as with threats themselves. It seeks to address vulnerabilities and enhance community resilience.
- Nested within these community level interventions there is of course a more specific targeted focus upon preventing the radicalisation of individuals and small groups.⁶

Looking across the data it is apparent that for those involved in delivering Prevent it has not always been clear where the balance between these two dimensions should be and how much resource should be attributed to each.

One of the most important changes induced by Prevent has been the ways in which aspects of CT work have been rendered more overt. Countering terrorism necessarily requires a degree of secrecy and much of what takes place does so out of public view. However, programs such as Prevent have necessarily rendered certain aspects much more publicly visible and accessible. At the outset of Prevent, this more visible and overt approach was not a notable feature, but rather is something that has been developed as the field methods used by police officers and staff have evolved. In so doing, it has helped to circumvent some long-standing criticisms,

"Because with Prevent there was rumours that we were spies, but you can't spy when you're actually going up to somebody and saying 'Hi, I'm from the counter-terrorism unit'." (Police, 2659-12)

As the most public-facing component of the CONTEST strategy, the Prevent work stream in particular has been the subject of considerable public debate. Critics of the approach adopted have contended, amongst other things, that it has captured resources that might otherwise have been used for more mundane policing

⁶ Central to this aspect of Prevent is the Channel Project. Channel is intended to be a process protecting vulnerable people, from any faith, ethnicity or background, who are assessed as vulnerable to risks of radicalization. This report does not address the workings of Channel in any detail.

needs, and that it risks constructing certain groups as ‘suspect populations’.⁷ However, we should not neglect the fact that the Prevent approach self-defines as instigating a marked change in strategy from how previous terrorist threats have been responded to.

A common theme evident across the interviews with police staff engaged in delivering Prevent was that they all offered the view that the implementation of this approach to CT policing has taken time to develop. Several respondents talked about policing having to work through a complete change of ‘mindset’ in terms of positioning Prevent and understanding what it involves. Others intimated that at the outset, problems were encountered because of a lack of clarity in terms of systems, processes and tactics. As will be discussed in due course, these early teething problems may have left a ‘toxic legacy’ for the future. In part though, the early difficulties may simply have been something that had to be worked through with communities. As one officer describing the initial introduction of Prevent and the early interactions with communities put it,

“This became the opportunity to take all of your frustrations and your anger and the vitriol and the things that have been pent up for a long, long-time. That was undoubtedly challenging for the officers who had to deal with that at the beginning of almost every relationship they were trying to forge. However, it was cathartic for the individual...and it was only once you had let that occur that you could then start to build a constructive relationship.” (Police, 2659-24)

Most of those interviewed expressed the view that progressively the work of Prevent was being better conceptualized and some practical methodologies were being established across the community of practice. Enabling this ‘venting’ of frustration is part of this.

A critical factor appears to have been securing a ‘space’ for Prevent. That is understanding how it is positioned somewhere between traditional models of ‘pursue’ counter-terrorist policing, and the work of Neighbourhood Policing teams on the other. Many interviewees felt that defining the ‘Prevent space’ internally within the police organisations had probably had negative implications for external public-facing relations with the public. Developing this theme a number of Prevent police officers cogently articulated how their work is shaped by a complex of forces. Sometimes these are coherent with each other, but at other times in tension. The Prevent teams are seeking to develop their own networks of contacts within the community. But they also have to act as a bridge internally between neighbourhood and Counter-terrorism policing assets.

The dynamics of the intra-organisational relationships between Prevent, neighbourhood and CT officers is interesting to look at in more detail for a moment. The Prevent Implementation Plan (Restricted Version 1.2) envisaged two counter terrorism roles, that of Counter Terrorism Field Intelligence Officer and a Community Engagement Officer. Many of those officers now engaged in

⁷ See for example Pantazis and Pemberton (2009) ‘From the old to the new suspect community’, *British Journal of Criminology*, 49: 646-66; and some of the submissions reported on pages 8/9 Communities and Local Government Committee (2010)

these roles have come from a NPT or training background, but see their current role as different.

Intriguingly, there are some clear variations apparent in how the different forces have organised to deliver these roles. In Surrey and Manchester, the community engagement officers who undertake much of the work of interacting with members of communities are civilian employees, rather than police officers. Called Community Relations Officers in Manchester, these staff members regard CT as part of, rather than all of, what is described by their role. This contrasts with the approach adopted in Cardiff and Surrey.

Not all of the forces studied were clear that staff engaged in Prevent activities should be open with the public about who they were and what they do. Consequently, the degree to which this public visibility was enacted varied. The Counter-Terrorism Field Intelligence Officers in GMP for example, had only recently shifted to an overt role

“I’m now overt...Now that has only just changed recently and it’s only in the last two or three weeks that we’re getting to a position where I am now going out and introducing myself as a field intelligence officer from the counter-terrorism unit...at the moment I haven’t come across anybody that has a real problem with the role at all. Everybody that I’ve spoken to has been very supportive.” (Police, 2659-04)

As this officer details, there appears to be a positive public response to this more open way of working. In part, the officer’s positive commentary on this reform may reflect how, prior to working in this way, the officers were having to negotiate some complex ‘back-stage’ and ‘front-stage’ arrangements,

“Initially we were covert. So that came with problems, because being on division you were overt to the police officers and the police staff...you had to stress to the officers when they were doing their enquiries don’t be telling this person that you’re talking to that I’m now going to go back and liaise with the counter-terrorism officer on division.” (Police, 2659-04)

This description affords some insight into the complex considerations that are involved in adopting a more covert role in relation to the delivery of Prevent policing. The strong consensus across the data appears to be that the more transparent approach that has been developed circumvents many of these issues and is actually valued by the public. This is not to say that all aspects of counter-terrorism policing can be delivered overtly, but such arrangements should be restricted to where they are absolutely necessary. The natural disposition for officers drawn from a CT background is to operate in a low-visibility fashion, but by blending aspects of CT and Neighbourhood Policing methods there appears to be broad public acceptance for Prevent being delivered more openly.

Reflecting their status as civilian employees, the Prevent operatives in Surrey, and Manchester did not wear police uniforms. Neither did the community engagement police officers in Cardiff except when a specific task required it. Contrastingly, in Birmingham the officers interviewed, called Security and Partnership Officers thought it important for their relations with the public that

they conducted their work in uniform. They were unique across all forces studied in that the SPO role combines both CTFIO and CEO roles into one. This was for two reasons. First it was felt to clarify that this was not a form of 'spying', and was in fact legitimate policing activity. Second, they believed that by being open they were in fact signaling clearly and unambiguously to the communities they were in direct contact with who to contact should the need arise. Officers in the West Midlands had arguably taken public visibility the furthest with their Security and Partnerships Officers. Their role was described as,

"...based locally in uniform and overtly counter-terrorist, so they will state who they are." (Police, 2611-11)

It was notable that when they introduced themselves to members of the public they would say that they were 'counter-terrorism officers' where all other forces' officers would not. Additional reasons for adopting this approach were articulated. First, and as will be discussed in more detail in due course, they felt that 'Prevent' was a 'tainted brand'. As such, being labeled as a 'Prevent officer' was thought to be something that would hinder rather than progress their relations with members of the public. Whilst recognising that there was a certain 'shock value' in public interactions, at least initially, the WMP officers view was that self-defining as counter-terrorism officers provided an honest and transparent basis for dialogue with the public. A small number of community respondents explicitly commended and supported this approach,

"I think they're getting more out of people when they're being transparent...Simple, if I know exactly where you're coming from I am going to be less defensive when I'm speaking to you." (Community, 2654-01)

The accounts provided by Prevent officers clearly convey a strong belief that Prevent policing has evolved rapidly over the past three years. Albeit there is not an established doctrine for Prevent, an increasing sense of definition about how to do Prevent is in evidence. But this progress has induced new concerns:

"I think we've got to a stage where we've got the real issue around Prevent now. Where do we go with this, and I think we will need guidance on how you do that. What are the terms of reference for intervention providers?...I think there are lots of areas that we'll need to develop." (Police, 2611-12)

As this officer intimates, on the ground there is some concern about the alignment between the strategic positioning and understanding of Prevent, and the 'state-of-the-art' in terms practice. A similar view was articulated by several police staff.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Engagement under the auspices of Prevent is designed to perform two main functions. First, it should provide a communication channel in order that individuals and groups can convey their concerns to the police in the form of

community intelligence. At the same time though, engagement should be used by police to inform and reassure communities about their activities. Looking across the four sites there were clear divisions in terms of how engagement activities were being conceived and performed.

In GMP a lot of the Prevent engagement activity was being performed by the Neighbourhood Policing Teams (NPTs) and a small team of Borough based Community Relations Officers (CROs) as described above. It was suggested that NPTs, by virtue of their embedding in neighbourhoods, already have the kinds of connectivity that enable them to know about much of what is going on within and across particular communities. Rather than introducing an additional layer of police-community interactions, a decision had been taken that, for the most part, it was better to harness the inter-personal communication networks that were already established. The role of CRO in Manchester pre-dates the introduction of Prevent by several years. Similar to the rationale invoked for trying to harness NPTs, it was suggested that rather than re-inventing established systems, it would be better to re-purpose those already in situ. As such, Prevent engagement in GMP involved a series of intermediaries, rather than involving Prevent officers in direct contacts themselves.

At a practical level though, concerns were evident in some of the comments made by GMP officers about the adequacy of their communication networks. For example, one officer, when discussing how communities were often expelling radical individuals without police assistance noted that,

“The mainstream Mosques are expelling and saying you’re not welcome here...I’m seeing that not through the individuals I am talking to, but as a result of other intelligence reporting.” (Police, 2659-03)

The fact that the local Mosques were actively engaged in managing the problem is obviously a strong point. However, it is potentially somewhat worrying that such interventions were not being brought to police attention through their community contacts.

Cardiff’s approach was both similar to and different from the arrangements observed in GMP. Their Prevent policing officers were mostly drawn from established NPTs, prior to being seconded to the new unit. It was argued that this was initially helpful in that these individuals already had established networks of community contacts that they could use in their new role. However, when interviewed these officers acknowledged that whilst they had good working relationships with some communities, they had been less successful in engaging with newer and emergent communities in the City. The insight this affords is that ‘good community contact’ is not equivalent to the capability to engage with plural communities.

These two examples help to clarify an important conceptual distinction in thinking about the effectiveness of community engagement work. We can distinguish between the ‘reach down’ into a community and the ability to ‘reach across’ different communities:

- ‘Reach down’ refers to whether the relations with particular groups are sufficient that it is possible to obtain community intelligence about what is really going on within a specific group. This involves being able to go beyond the community leaders and gatekeepers and to access information about those individuals who might be vulnerable to extremist influences.
- In contrast, the concept of ‘reach across’ seeks to recognise that although references are often made to the Muslim community, such statements are largely misleading. People from the Muslim faith, just like individuals from other faith backgrounds, are participants in a number of overlapping, interacting and fluid social networks. Thus an effective community engagement strategy will demonstrate a capacity to connect with all of the major identity based groupings in an area.

In the West Midlands, the police had originally envisaged pursuing a similar approach to GMP. However, they concluded that their NP assets were not consistently of sufficient quality to enable them to participate effectively in delivering Prevent activities. As a consequence, within the Prevent component of the CTU staff, they introduced their own engagement processes and officers. This has they assert, afforded them a high quality form of community engagement focused upon Muslim communities. This was different from Surrey where civilian Community Engagement Officers (CEOs) were responsible for developing and sustaining a network of contacts, whereas separate police intelligence officers were tasked to use these contacts to generate intelligence.

Such considerations resonate with comments made by some of the community members interviewed for the study. There were repeated mentions of having multiple contacts with police officers drawn from different units. So one day they might talk to a member of the NPT, on another day it might be someone from the CTU or the Security Service. Many people said they found this confusing and their preference would be for a single point of contact. There is also an information control point relating to such an approach. Members of the public frequently intimated that they assumed that if they had told something to one officer, then officers in other parts of the organisation would be made aware of this. However, previous experience has demonstrated that assumptions cannot be made that information will be internally channeled to where it needs to go.

In the preceding section it was noted that officers were aware of the potential for tensions to arise between their overt work and the more clandestine activities of other agencies. Importantly though, the consequences of these tensions were evident in communities. Respondents in both Surrey and the West Midlands talked in detail in their interviews about these issues and the negative repercussions they had upon their motivation to engage with police more generally. As they argued, they were willing to engage through Prevent with the police precisely because it was transparent and because it was the right thing to do to protect their community. There was some evidence that as a result of these tensions some individuals were disengaging from the police and it appeared that often the Prevent officers were unaware of the reasons why.

Of the four forces examined, WMP probably evidenced the most robust approach to community engagement. To a large part this reflected how they had specifically set out to construct a community intelligence network. Over a twelve month period officers from the Prevent office of the CTU had undertaken to deliberately establish contacts across a range of different groups. It was a process that according to the local Chief Inspector had yielded important benefits,

“Internally the role very quickly began to justify itself. The uplift in community contacts in community intelligence was significant.” [Police, 2659-24]

This suggests that establishing a systematic and structured network of contacts combining reach down and across communities can do much to improve the situational awareness of Prevent policing.

The network that has been constructed has been managed in a deliberate and careful way, as described by a female officer who has been pivotal in its inception,

“We never ask any of our contacts to give us intelligence, we’d never task them...however if you have something...” (Police, 2659-15)

As this quotation conveys, the police have been careful not to ‘task’ or ‘ask’ these community contacts for intelligence. Rather the approach works by establishing communication channels that can be harnessed as and when they are required. There is considerable effort involved in maintaining these inter-personal communication networks, but there is an acceptance that these communication channels do not have to be always ‘on’. They are turned ‘off’ and ‘on’ in response to community needs. Police also utilize them to ‘push’ relevant information out into communities.

Whilst the WMP approach displays a sophisticated understanding of community dynamics and how people interface with police around some sensitive and difficult issues, we should not over-state what has been accomplished. As will be detailed in Chapter 6, there are suggestions that WMP’s reach across some relevant community groups remains partial. Arguably even more significantly though, in spite of these networks of community contacts, the police engaged in an initiative with the potential to significantly undermine the good work they have conducted. As has been widely reported in the national media, Project Champion was publicly presented as a scheme to introduce a sophisticated network of CCTV and Automatic Number Plate Recognition (ANPR) cameras into a particular area of Birmingham to help prevent crime. These cameras were not supported by Prevent policing funds, but a public scandal arose though when it was revealed that the funding for these cameras was coming from a counter terrorism budget, with the strong implication being that the cameras were designed for CT surveillance rather than general crime prevention.⁸

⁸ A more detailed account is provided in Sara Thornton’s review available at www.west-midlands.police.uk/latest-news/Champion_Review_Final_30_09_10 accessed 01/04/11.

During the interviews with local Prevent police staff it was clear that they had been surprised by the events around Project Champion and that they were unaware that the cameras were being paid for by wider counter-terrorism funds. This demonstrates that even within a single police force, different police teams are not necessarily joined-up. However, a number of them suggested that, contrary to reports in some national newspapers, the fabric of trust with local communities had not been irreparably damaged. Indeed, they claimed that, for example, there had not been a dramatic fall-off in the number of community intelligence submissions. The validity of such a claim is hard to establish, however, some community representatives were more equivocal about the repercussions. For example, one man who had been working closely with the police for several years told how,

“We felt totally betrayed. Well we couldn’t walk away because we’d worked quite hard and the only way to deal with it was to stand and fight it, and deal with the situation....The relationship between the police and the community was severed, you know there was a void left there, it was like total mistrust.” (Community, 2654-04)

He goes on to say that although the relationship with the police has now been repaired a bit, it is not the same as it was. He articulates a strong sense of how a number of community representatives recognise that there is a serious problem that needs to be dealt with and as a consequence, even when things go badly wrong, it would not be appropriate to disengage from the police.

The repercussions associated with this particular high-profile case shines a light upon some of the intricacies of the trust relationships that are built between police and communities. The picture that emerges is of individuals and groups trusting particular individual officers, whilst displaying distrust of the police as an institution.

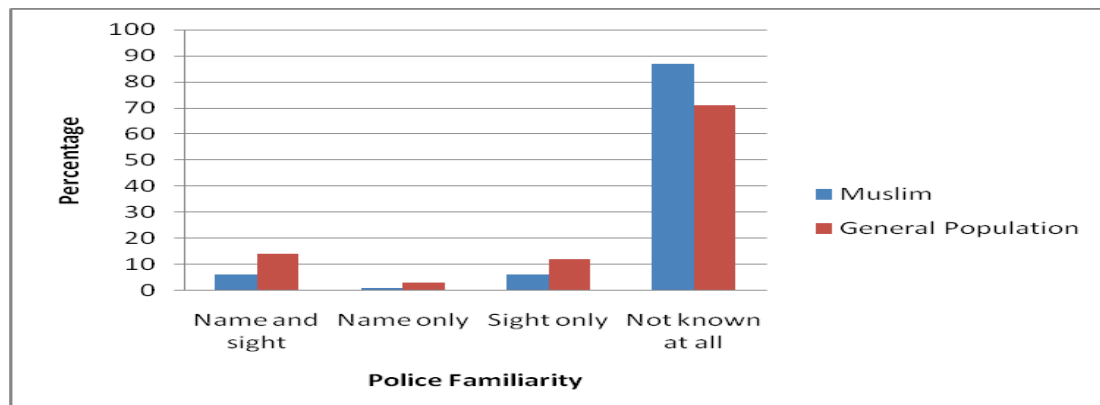
THE CONSEQUENCES OF VISIBLE PREVENT POLICING

It has been identified that one of the defining characteristics of Prevent policing is its overt nature. All of the forces studied were clear that Prevent was a public-facing aspect of policing. They all recognized the importance of engagement as part of their visible presence and had processes in place to support this activity. However, a recurrent theme in many of the community interviews was that whilst the police are visible, they have been less successful in establishing and embedding engagement networks.

In order to investigate this concern in more detail, we conducted a quantitative analysis of British Crime Survey (BCS) data. The BCS includes the question *‘how often do you see a Police Officer or PCSO on foot patrol?’* and analysis of the responses to this shows that police have greatest visibility for Muslim respondents. Muslims were twice as likely as the general population to see police or PCSO’s in their area ‘once a day or more’ - 20 percent and 10 percent respectively. Only 1 in 10 Muslims responded that they ‘never’ see a police presence in their area compared with approximately one-third of the general

population. The high visibility of police for Muslim respondents did not, however, co-exist with familiarity. Only 6 percent of Muslims knew a police or PCSO officer by name and sight compared with 14 percent of the general population. Despite reporting frequent sightings of police on foot in their area, the percentage knowing a name or recognising a face was also substantially lower than for the general population. However, it holds for the population as a whole that the vast majority of people do not report *any* familiarity with police or PCSO officers in their area.

Figure 1: Police and PCSO familiarity



Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

Taken in conjunction with some of the qualitative interview comments, these results suggest that whilst police are visible in many Muslim communities, they are not necessarily converting this into being engaged with these communities. Potentially this points to some limitations with how Prevent policing is being conceptualized and practiced. It may be that local publics interpret such patterns of activity as policing *of* rather than *for* their community.⁹ Overall, there may be a lack of nuance pertaining to how police self-assess the value added by their engagement and visibility activities.

The social science literature on the workings of social networks distinguishes between 'strong' and 'weak' ties. Strong ties are based upon a deep connection often between individuals predicated upon high levels of inter-personal trust. In contrast to this, 'weak ties' tend to be more numerous, more ephemeral, and more fragile. However, they can be very useful in that they facilitate a degree of connectivity across disparate social groups. Assessing the effectiveness of the different organisational approaches to engagement and visibility it appears that police were better able to evidence a limited number of 'strong' community contacts with a small number of people, rather than a widespread network of weak ties. Ideally an effective approach to Prevent policing would combine strong and weak ties. Practically though, given constraints upon time and resources, this does suggest that in some areas police slightly loosening ties with some established community contacts could be beneficial in releasing capacity to develop some new weak ties.

⁹ The authors are grateful to Mike Levi for this distinction.

A second constraint with the delivery arrangements for Prevent policing relates to the preponderance of interest and attention having been given to establishing new systems and structures. The variations in on the ground practice highlighted above, are suggestive that perhaps more attention to the 'recipe knowledge' about how to practically do Prevent policing is required. For example, how to construct a network of community contacts based upon both strong and weak ties is clearly a question that could be addressed.

From the in-depth interviews conducted with Prevent staff it was clear that many of them felt they were frequently improvising to deal with the complex problems and circumstances encountered. Many of them described innovative and effective examples of practical problem-solving. Equally however, it was clear that these kinds of practical skills and knowledge were partial and not available in a central repository or 'how to' manual of key tasks associated with Prevent policing. One officer involved in Prevent activities described how,

"...we were then tasked to deal with people who fell out of that operation and that has been problematic in that we have had no specific training for carrying out that intervention. How do you go to somebody who's believed to be involved in a group...and say to them 'what grievance have you got, what are your worries, talk to us' when they already possibly, are well down the path of radicalisation? So how do we get trained into that? How do we manage that process and how do we deal with that?" (Police, 2611-12)

The expression of this lack of confidence was striking given that in some other sites officers seemed far more comfortable and experienced in doing precisely this kind of activity.

RELATIONS WITH PARTNERS

As was noted in the Introduction to this report, Prevent is a multi-disciplinary endeavor requiring the involvement of many agencies. Many of the officers interviewed commented upon how much time, resource and effort was going in to supporting partnership working. In describing their work patterns and routines, many police staff intimated that they were investing heavily in managing partnership activity. The concern with this is that these inward directed conversations are only useful if they are adding value to the public facing delivery of Prevent. It was not always clear that this was the case. Overall, across the four research sites, the picture was mixed. Some interviewees described strong and resilient partner relations. However, in other areas these were depicted as much more fragile.

For example, Surrey officers reported that their contacts briefing a private contractor's dustbin men had been very positive. But the experience of briefing local council staff much less so. An awful lot of time, resource and energy is being directed to developing partnership working, but a robust cost-benefit analysis on the outcomes being derived from such investments is probably warranted. A number of police interviewees intimated that in reality they were spending the

majority of their time working with and through partners, rather than in a more directly public-facing way. Effective partnership working is critical to Prevent, but the evidence collated suggests that there are wide variations in the costs, efficacy and value being added by some local arrangements.

What this moves us towards is a more sophisticated understanding of the diverse range of engagement activity being undertaken by Prevent officers. Although it is the most visible manifestation of CT policing, much of this activity is still 'backstage' in that it is largely removed from public view. Prevent officers are routinely establishing and maintaining networks of contacts ranging across the following groups:

- CT officers
- NP officers
- Partner agencies
- Private contractors
- Local businesses
- Community leaders
- 'Ordinary' citizens

As Prevent has matured and developed, and as the threat environment has adapted so connections to new partners have been formed. For example in the West Midlands, reflecting increasing concern about the potential for 'Lone-Wolf' extremists, increasing work has been done to involve Mental Health specialists and local partners. The research was not able to assess the efficacy of such an approach, but a potential for 'net-widening' should be guarded against. The key learning point though is that Prevent partnerships between police and others need to be conceived as responsive and adaptive, rather than being based upon a fixed format and membership. Mechanisms need to be introduced to ensure that the partners being engaged in the Prevent process possess the skills and expertise required to service local needs. This could be accomplished by requiring all Prevent partnerships to undertake a periodic assessment of their exposure to particular vulnerabilities and threats, and whether current partnering arrangements fit with these.

In sum, Prevent policing engages in two main forms of community engagement:

- Internal engagements: that network Prevent officers with others within the police organisation, and also with local authority partners.
- External engagements: are more public facing and involve connecting with citizens and civil society groups more directly.

DISRUPTION AND CONSEQUENCE MANAGEMENT

Engagement is a key activity for Prevent policing. However, it has a more direct interventionist dimension as well. These interventions were undertaken to inhibit and disrupt the potential for radicalisation. A number of examples were described by police respondents where they had undertaken disruptions. For example, an Inspector in Birmingham described how,

“Another Mosque in Alum Rock rang up one of my sergeants and said we’ve got three guys coming here, and they were doing the proper radicalization thing. They were trying to draw kids in, they were trying to have little meetings, they were being quite radical. We’d appreciate your support if you could come and help us, and speak to these three individuals because we don’t want them here but we’re a little bit concerned. So [Name]’s gone down, confronted the three individuals. The Mosque don’t want you here, what are you about? Do you want to talk to me about it? They didn’t. They went. We know where they went.”

The Inspector went on to recount how information about the group was circulated more widely. The purpose being to create a ‘hostile environment’, inasmuch as they were subject to an ongoing sequence of locally generated disruptions and thus not able to settle in any new premises. He then unpicked the logic of what they were attempting to do,

“It’s a disruption in a way...[Officer name] said we know who you are, we know what you’re doing, we will not tolerate what you’re doing, you’d better start thinking about it. Be clear, we are watching you. Now that is an intervention and that’s a Prevent intervention.” (2611-11)

There are several important qualities illustrated by this case. First, it evidences how, in certain circumstances, the police are being enlisted by communities to help them solve their problems. Second, it shows a certain style of overt counter-terrorism work in action. In many ways, this approach is probably archetypal of what the designers of the Prevent programme had in mind. Disruption is an established policing method that appears to be gaining favour with Prevent officers as an effective way of managing some behaviours that are ‘anti-social’ and indirectly increase a threat, but do not involve an obvious infraction of law.¹⁰ As such, they necessitate the crafting of a response that does not rely upon the provisions of criminal law.

The inter-linking of such considerations and the potential utility of overt disruption for delivering the Prevent agenda were confirmed in a story told by one officer from a different research site to the above example,

“We’ve got a gym, but it’s also a school, it’s one of these multi-user buildings...and there’s some suggestion that at some point radicalisation may have occurred...There’s some other reporting that’s a little more specific...Now I’ve looked at that and thought what do I do? Do I send a UC in? Do I try and recruit an informant? And I thought actually I’ll just go and see them and wandered in and the chap that I met was very compelling when I spoke to him.” (Police, 2659-03)

As described, engaging overtly disruptive interventions provides new ways of achieving Prevent objectives.

¹⁰ The use of disruption in other areas of policing is discussed in Innes, M. and J. Sheptycki (2004) “From detection to disruption: some consequences of intelligence-led crime control in the UK”, *International Criminal Justice Review* (14) pp. 1-14.

Disruption is then an important tactical option for Prevent policing. Analysis of the interview data suggests that perhaps insufficient attention has been paid to how disruptive interventions can be applied under the auspices of Prevent. Respondents talked in far more detail about how they were working towards many of the other aims. There was far less discussion of how to be disruptive or examples of this occurring in practice. This is despite the fact that the second formal aim of the Prevent programme is to 'Disrupt those who promote violent extremism...'. This neglect is significant.

Being able to engage interventions to disrupt and disturb the activities of extremist individuals and groups is at the 'harder-edge' of Prevent working. And yet, it seems an under-developed component. As one officer, offering a personal opinion, suggested,

"There was a three month window of opportunity before Sadiq Khan and his comrades committed the attack...The reason why the service said they weren't pursuing them was because they weren't high enough on the intel radar. However, why didn't we just send a couple of uniformed officers to knock on the door and say "Hi Mohammed, I'm from the counter-terrorism unit, we really need to have a chat." ...They've no idea what level of detail we know, very, very powerful that." [Police, 2659-24]¹¹

Public acceptance of disruption as a legitimate outcome of policing activity is founded upon investing in community relations to build trust. A good example of how this can be done was described by officers in South London. Through a community engagement methodology delivered by the Safer Neighbourhoods Team as part of their Prevent work, analysis revealed concerns expressed by a number of members of the local Muslim community about a particular public house in the Borough. They reported that when they walked past this pub, they would frequently be subject to verbal abuse. The police were already aware of other issues with this establishment, but backed by this community intelligence they decided to act. The local Chief Inspector described what happened when they went to the next 'Partners and Communities Together' meeting to announce that they had closed the pub down,

"I stood up and said what we had done and I got a spontaneous round of applause. They were cheering and clapping. That has never happened before." (Police, D)

Being directly responsive to community concerns in this fashion, was cast as a kind of investment that helped to build trust and confidence in the community. The majority of Prevent officers discussed how they would actively become involved in managing the policing response when Mosques and other buildings were attacked, which the interviews with community representatives suggests happens quite regularly. The Prevent officers saw their role as providing

¹¹ Of course the efficacy of any such intervention may be limited inasmuch as it may not prevent the progression to violence on its own, but it may provide an opportunity for further dialogue between the police and the individual(s) and the possibility of engaging them in additional Prevent activities.

expertise and contacts for their colleagues to try and ensure that a professional policing response was provided in such cases. It was acknowledged that such a response was not always achieved, but because they had established personal relationships with key actors, the Prevent officers believed that they were often able to limit the consequences when the police response was below par.

This notion of consequence management was identified as a potentially increasingly important aspect of what Prevent officers do. A number described being involved in conducting community impact assessments in relation to key events, and also crafting impact management strategies. This dimension of their role is both prospective and retrospective. It is being used both in relation to 'pursue' enforcement interventions by police, but also occurrences such as EDL marches. A member of the community described how community impact assessment had been used following 'Operation Gamble',

"The first thing I suppose that the community felt is that all of a sudden you find that there's people in your midst who may have been up to no good. You've got the whole of the media, you've got a house being raided with ten police vans and 50 fluorescent jackets and the raid's done...and all life kind of stops because you've got all this media attention and everyone in the community is affected by it...What we were able to do with the police was...the very next day all the fluorescent jackets disappeared...If you stay the media stays there." (Community, 2654-01)

The application of community impact assessment methods in this particular case helped to 'take the temperature' of the community and to reduce 'the heat' associated with an intervention that had to be conducted to protect public safety. This is an important point in that sometimes intrusive and high-profile police operations have to be conducted, and part of the role of Prevent teams is to minimize the disturbance and social harm that they cause. A second intriguing dimension described by the respondent above is how the police and community worked collaboratively to reduce the 'visibility' and sense of 'spectacle' attached to the police raid. This stands in contrast to some of the preceding analysis that has focused upon how Prevent has deliberately worked to establish a more visible form of overt CT policing.

From this brief outline of the work conducted by Prevent police officers it is clear that it is political with both a small and big "p". As one of them described it, it is more "Brooke Bond, than James Bond". That is, it frequently involved sitting down with people over a cup of tea, getting to know and understand them and their issues, and negotiating with them about their grievances and concerns.

SUMMARY

Although there is national guidance for the police around their role and tasks in the Prevent programme, it is clear from examining the four research sites that it is being implemented in differing configurations in different settings. The analysis suggests that key to the delivery of Prevent by the police are three principal tasks:

- Community engagement and community intelligence collection;
- Disruptive interventions;
- Community impact management.

The different models being operationalised by the individual police forces display relative strengths and weaknesses. Importantly, there does not appear to be any systematic transmission of these experiences and their effects to enable police and government to learn from the diversity of arrangements.

CHAPTER 3: COMMUNITY MOBILISATION WITHIN AND WITHOUT PREVENT

Comparing the systems and processes underpinning the organisation and delivery of Prevent policing observed in the present fieldwork with those described in the 2007 report (relating to data collected between 2003-05), there has been a noticeable uplift in police capacity and capability. There is a better understanding of the make-up of communities, and evidence of a better comprehension of where key risks and threats are located. However, there remain areas for improvement and whether these enhancements have translated into public benefits remains an important question.

One of the key findings of the 2007 report was that Muslim communities viewed the police as an agency of last resort. There was a clear preference to solve problems using a community's informal social control resources. Even when it was known that extremist groups were active in an area, it was intimated that community members would be unlikely to bring this to the attention of the police. Respondents in the earlier study suggested that in most scenarios police would be involved only when other options had been exhausted, or when the risks were judged to be simply too acute.

Set against a backdrop of improvements in the organization and focus of Prevent policing recorded above, it might be anticipated that a greater willingness to involve police in solving problems would be evident. However, the empirical evidence collected on this point is ambiguous. For instance, a self-defined 'moderate' Muslim was asked 'how the community responds if a problem with a local young person appears?' He described how,

"They would try to, the family would try to engage an elder within the community, then get the Imam involved within the community."
(Community 2633-07)

He continued,

"I would suspect they wouldn't want to tell everybody...But with the setup as I understand it, they would try to address it within the community...You try to solve it yourself and you know, if the danger's so big then you can't do it." (Community, 2633-07)

The intricacies and workings of these kinds of negotiation were recalled in more detail by a member of a Mosque Committee in relation to a young Muslim male that the police had felt that they needed to speak to,

"I said why should we, just for one individual's sake sort of make an effect on the Mosque, where the Mosque will get blamed when everything comes out in the open. So then we spoke to the parent and we said you need to go to the police, otherwise we will then go. And at first he said no, no. I said no, why should we, we are lying for your son, and today he's done something minor, tomorrow he'll do something big. Are we still going to hide him? And then at that point he saw sense and he went himself." (Community, 2659-31)

This story provides important insights into some of the subtle ways in which community based informal social control can be enlisted into reducing some of the risks of violent extremism. It is not always dramatic or obvious, but takes place 'backstage' and in fairly discreet ways.

Police interviewees in Oldham were aware that a lot of preventative activity was going on locally outside of the formal Prevent mechanisms,

"I think there is quite a lot of self-regulation occurring and sometimes that is to the exclusion of the police." (Police, 2659-03)

That these self-help community responses are going on does not mean that Prevent policing has not had any beneficial effects. Rather what the qualitative interview data suggest is that many people hold quite complex views about it. In effect, they simultaneously recognise both positive and negative dimensions.

The principal reason given for holding negative views was that 'Prevent' appears to be a 'tainted brand' in the eyes of many community members. Underpinning this negativity was a feeling of frustration that Prevent funding had not been used effectively,

"What's happened is Prevent money has been used by groups who we'd call 'poverty pimps' like they go to areas where there's funding, take the funding, don't really deliver anything meaningful and we're none the wiser at the end of it." (Community, 2654-01)

These comments made by a community representative in the West Midlands were strongly echoed in Cardiff,

"I think one of the dangers is that it can encourage people to involve themselves in this particular agenda just for the financial benefit...all of a sudden many people sprouting up are so called experts...I think it's a waste of resources and a waste of peoples' time." (Community, H)

These frustrations were particularly acute amongst community groups directly engaged in trying to challenge extremist voices. The following was a fairly typical response,

"I mean around 2007...one individual who was saying that he could do this and that and the reality is he couldn't really do any of it...he just jumped onto the bandwagon around 2006/07 and that side was lucrative for many people, people made a lot of money out of it." (Community, 2659-30)

Some of the reasons why communities might assume a negative position were acknowledged by police interviewees. In part, these were attributed to the legacy created by how the Prevent programme was initially introduced in a hurry lacking clarity about key standard operating procedures and its public presentation,

“Well the government shot itself in the foot over Prevent right from the outset...It was doomed to failure in terms of people seeing it for what it really is.” (Police, 2611-07)

The sense of disenchantment expressed by interviewees centered upon how Prevent has been implemented. The following extract summarises these kinds of sentiment,

“I want to feel safe, full stop. There’s no two ways about it and I think that’s how most people, if not everyone, would feel. So we don’t mind a level of checking, it’s when it’s not done properly which is the problem and it’s not done sympathetically.” (Community, 2654-01)

It is clear that some people on the receiving end of Prevent services do hold negative views of and are suspicious about Prevent policing. But it is important to clarify that such views are often not wholly negative. There are frustrations and negative perceptions and experiences apparent in the accounts provided. But equally, many acknowledge that there is a problem to be addressed. That this is the case has helped to promote a situation where Muslim communities are effectively ‘doing Prevent outside of the Prevent programme.’

DOING PREVENT WITHOUT THE PREVENT PROGRAMME

Many of the community representatives pointed out that their involvement in challenging violent extremists pre-dated the introduction of Prevent. They recounted a long history of experiences of working at grass-roots level that had largely taken place ‘under the radar’ of the police. Owing to the sense of disenchantment felt by some individuals and groups with police Prevent methods and the preventing violent extremism programme, it is clear that a number of them have decided to continue to participate in community-led self-help interventions, but outside of the formal structures and processes of Prevent.

Looking at how Muslim communities participate in delivering Prevent type objectives it is possible to differentiate between those efforts that are more ‘tightly’ and ‘loosely’ coupled to the official programme, and those that are more formally manufactured and organised, and those where responses are more ‘organic’. Participating in such work was though felt to involve negotiating quite complex and oftentimes contradictory pressures. The following account was fairly typical of how such pressures were described,

“That’s the central tension, you obviously can’t compromise public safety in the slightest, but at the same time if we lose our integrity no-one’s going to even touch us with a bargepole...If you get labeled as an informant, it’s a very, very damaging label to get.” (Community, 2659-28)

The ability to maintain and protect credibility whilst engaging in this kind of work was a repeatedly voiced concern for the community representatives interviewed. There was a general feeling that many public agencies do not really comprehend the delicate situated politics that have to be negotiated in terms of how and why individuals and groups elect to participate in particular ways with

Prevent policing, but not others. Some groups that had worked quite closely with Prevent argued that they needed to be given more freedom to manoeuvre to ensure both their credibility and effectiveness.

The difficulty for the police and their partners is though that the risks that they are aware of and are seeking to encounter emanate from quite fluid and mutable sources that shift and adapt as new community-based coalitions rise and fall. As a consequence, it is not always easy to clearly distinguish who are the risk amplifiers and mitigators. For instance, talking about a particular recent case, a Prevent officer recalled that,

“Using [Name] as an example, what we saw with that was people that were known to the police and the Security Service were getting involved, getting rid of him. So is it territory that they’re trying to protect? Could be lots of different reasons, but we’ve seen people that are on the network, getting involved and arguably protecting their community.” (Police, 2659-12)

The presence of these subtle community-based politics is an important feature in terms of understanding how Prevent policing has to position itself and some of the issues that have to be carefully negotiated by officers.

Resonating with the more general comment made about the preference to invoke informal social control methods, it is clear that for many representatives of Muslim communities they would prefer to deal with issues themselves, where this is possible,

“Sometimes I think things like that are best left to the people locally to deal with...Because at the end of the day what could a law enforcement agency do in that respect? You know, you could stop the pamphlets going up but if you drive it underground I think you’re making the situation worse.” (Community, 2633-07)

These kinds of views underpinned a number of interventions that were described during the interviews. For example, one interviewee from Birmingham told a story of how, when a well know extremist figure started proselytizing locally, the community decided to ‘push-back’ themselves,

“What we done as a community we thought if we send the police in it looks heavy handed, he gets the publicity he want and he will get more followers. We got community people to actually confront them on their stalls and after a couple of weeks of coming here and then facing the confrontation, he ran away from this road.” (Community, 2654-01)

This illustrates how communities are directly engaged in confronting extremists themselves. In addition however, a number of cases were described about how they can also invoke more indirect solutions. On one such occasion, the community took action in response to a planned Welsh Defence League (WDL) march. Fearing the potential for a confrontation between their young people and the WDL marchers, they described how they had,

“Put on events to keep the young people away. Mainly, just for you know worrying about our young people getting involved and getting arrested...In the local park we had a football tournament, we had a BBQ...and family fun day. So it’s basically trying to get the whole community out...we had over 100 people turn up that day.” (Community, K)

Communities proactively mobilising to reduce community tensions and ‘the temperature’ of a potentially difficult situation was something observed across all four sites. This respondent’s colleague further described how one of their motivations had been to try and keep their young people from getting into trouble with the police - something that would have ‘played into the hands of the WDL’.

The net effect of this tendency to invoke community self-directed responses has been that an interesting challenge for Prevent policing has arisen. Based upon the interviews it is clear that there are now a range of groups engaged in counter- and de-radicalisation activities who are doing so outwith the Prevent programme. They are obtaining their funding from other civil society sources and are explicit in their view that they want nothing to do with the government’s official Prevent programme,

“For the workshops there was a small amount of funding from Welsh Assembly...Nobody benefits a lot of the work we do, nearly all the work we do at the moment is done without any type of pay or compensation...maybe helps with the credibility.” (Community, H)

Groups such as these maintain that, given the ‘taint’ that has become attached to Prevent, their efficacy and legitimacy are predicated upon preserving a sense of detachment from it.

Detailed probing through the interviews revealed however that not all groups or interventions were wholly divorced from police activity. For example, in Surrey an officer described how,

“I mean we’ve had Hizb-ut-Tahrir and people like that outside the Mosque leafleting and all that sort of thing, but I think the Mosque have very quickly dealt with that kind of thing. We often have been aware of it, but we actually have never had to make an intervention because the Mosque deal with it themselves.” (Police, 2611-07)

Several similar examples of this co-productive method of working between police and communities were described. The police recognized the benefits of allowing communities to take the lead in challenging problem individuals. From the communities’ point of view though, it was important to know that if they needed it, they would be supported by the police.

From a community point of view such interventions were not undertaken lightly. Several examples of where people involved in confronting extremists had encountered intimidation and repercussions as a result of their action were reported in the interviews. Whilst police sought to provide some degree of

protection, it was not clear how effective this was perceived to be by those on the receiving end. Such issues become particularly pronounced though where the challenge is being mounted by groups outside of formal Prevent arrangements.

A further relevant consideration is that not all communities were able to act in these ways. Indeed, a striking finding is that there are often very great variations in the ability of groups to respond. A number of police and community respondents, in talking about their local areas, drew sharp differentiations between Mosques that had rapidly and successfully resisted the activities of extremist individuals, and those that had not. Relatedly, police interviewees were frequently candid about the fact that whilst many Imams and Mosque Committees were keen to engage and participate in Prevent, a number of others remained far more recalcitrant. This is an important point inasmuch as it captures how the success of Prevent is only partly premised upon the activities of the police and their partners.

UNDERSTANDING THE POTENTIAL EFFECTS OF PREVENT POLICING

Compared with the situation described in the 2007 report, it is not possible to say categorically whether the net amount of community collective efficacy has increased or decreased in association with the maturing of Prevent. What can be stated with more confidence is that these more sophisticated forms of co-productive working do appear to be an important new development. They were not as prevalent six years ago. Their significance resides in how they start to outline the contours of a more sophisticated methodology in terms of how Prevent policing seeks to perform its functions. It is not just about what the police do directly, but how their interventions shape, mould and leverage the informal social control capacities residing within communities themselves.

The community dynamics underpinning these co-productive arrangements are interesting. For whilst such approaches require the commitment of police, a necessary condition for their success appears to be the possession of a range of skills and capacities within communities. For example, in relation to several of the narratives relayed about communities working with the police, it was noted that professional community workers played a key role. This theme was pursued in several interviews. Certainly in Cardiff it was strongly present,

“[Name 1], [Name 2], [Name 3] are all community based, you know they work for various organisations in the community.” (Community, H)

This was confirmed by a second respondent,

“Youth workers or community workers so this is the core people that it actually comes out from...the majority of the people don't know what's going on outside...We've got a lot of volunteers active in the community who are not actually paid workers or anything like that, but they just want to do things for their own family” (Community, K)

As this latter account makes clear the key Prevent based activities are not restricted to the professionals, many others are involved also. But what these

professional community organisers do seem to provide is a core repository of 'soft' skills that are needed to be able to network, coordinate and mobilize other interested actors in an effective manner.

One of the key aims of Prevent is defined as 'addressing grievances'. The data collected from the interviews suggests that 'on the ground' this is frequently more complex and involved than the headline aim implies. First, the authorities have to be able to identify what the grievances are. Often this is not easy given the plethora of voices and claims and counter-claims emanating from the different cultures and cleavages that together constitute 'the Muslim community'. Next, it is important to understand the nature and substance of any such grievances. How much do they pertain to particular situation and to what extent do they translate across different contexts? Defining the contours of the complaint frames the next question about who potentially is positioned to be able to achieve leverage over the problem in question. As highlighted above, this is sometimes the police or one of their statutory partners, but it is not always the case. A key consideration here is negotiating with the community about how they want the problem to be solved. In some scenarios they might accept overt law enforcement interventions, but on many occasions they appear to prefer alternative, less visible, ways of dealing with the issue.

This complex, negotiated process, or some variant of it, underpinned a number of Prevent interventions that appeared to have been well received by communities. The notion of doing Prevent with communities rather than to them, seems to alter community perceptions. Now obviously not all counter-terrorism work can adopt this more co-productive stance. The point is though, that where policing interventions were more transparent this did seem to positively influence community reactions.

SUMMARY

Taken as a whole, the evidence presented over the past two Chapters suggests that under the auspices of Prevent a range of different interventions are being engaged and delivered by a variety of actors. On some occasions, police are clearly in the lead role and assume primary responsibility for implementing a response. More interestingly though, the data evidences the routine utilization of more complex arrangements where police are encouraging communities to take a more active role. Additionally, the interviews have elicited a large number of examples where the police are effectively by-standers to community action.

From a conceptual point of view how are we to make sense of this? A key distinction pivots around who determines the presence and contours of a problem, and who delivers the response. Thinking in these terms helps to outline a conceptual map of four key intervention modes that can be detected at the core of Prevent policing. In Figure 1 the top row distinguishes between where police define the problem, and where a community does this. The left-hand column separates out response delivery between police and community.

| | Police Defined | Community Defined |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Police Delivered | Protective | Type 1 Co-production |
| Community Delivered | Type 2 Co-production | Mobilisation |

Table 2: The Four Prevent Policing Intervention Modes

On this basis four modal Prevent policing interventions can be identified:

- Protective – is where the police clearly ‘own’ the intervention. The tactics engaged can vary from disruption to law enforcement, but critically the nature of the problem is defined and responded to by police.
- Mobilisation – is the converse to the above. The problem is identified by the community and they harness their informal social control resources to perform a self-help response. This can range from violence, through to awareness raising. Critically though, police and their local authority partners are largely reduced to the status of by-standers, or indeed they may be wholly unaware of the activity.
- Type 1 Co-production – in some situations the police act to deal with issues brought to them by the community. This collaborative joint problem-solving activity, involving inputs from both police and public, has been documented in other neighbourhood settings.¹² In the context of the Prevent programme, it appears to be engaged by police for two principal reasons. First, because a problem is sufficiently troubling that it is beyond the scope of community activity to impact upon it. Second, on some occasions, police can engage with issues deliberately in order to build community trust and confidence.
- Type 2 Co-production – The final ideal-type is where police identify an issue, but enable or encourage community-based actors to deal with it. This can either be through material / practical support, or more tacit forms. Engaging this style of collaborative Prevent work tends to reflect the fact that some of the problems encountered are complex and cannot be effectively treated through application of the criminal law. To the best of our knowledge, this mode of intervention has not been previously identified by researchers.

These four intervention modes are ideal-types. They are not necessarily mutually exclusive in that there are examples within the data of where one mode has been implemented and failed as a result of which an alternative approach has then been engaged. However, mapping the territory in this fashion does afford a handle on what Prevent policing involves and how it is being enacted. As such, it provides this report’s basis for looking at what effects Prevent policing might have. Perhaps more significantly though, that these different modal interventions can be observed across the sites indicates that Prevent policing has evolved a more nuanced set of responses for countering the variegated range of risks, threats and vulnerabilities that it routinely encounters.

¹² For example see, Carr, P. (2006) Clean Streets. New York: New York University Press.

CHAPTER 4: TWO CASE STUDIES OF PREVENT POLICING IN ACTION

The conclusion of the previous Chapter outlined a conceptual model of four key modes of Prevent policing. The aim of this section of the report is to try and show how this model affords new insights into the ways in which Prevent policing takes place in practice. In order to do this, the discussion is organised around two detailed case studies of how the police and communities responded to incursions by extremist groups. Adopting this more detailed and in-depth approach helps to illuminate some of the empirical complexities that are involved in 'doing' Prevent policing. It can be observed how the implementation of police-led, community-led and more co-productive interventions are not mutually exclusive but rather display a high degree of connectedness. Moreover, because the risk posed in the two communities is fairly similar in character, the analysis helps to further evidence how the delivery of Prevent is highly situated and responsive to local conditions. The first case study is drawn from Birmingham and the second from Cardiff.

CASE STUDY 1: ALUM ROCK, BIRMINGHAM

This case study traces the response by West Midlands Police and the diverse Muslim communities of the Alum Rock area of Birmingham to the multiple visits of extremist activists associated with the proscribed group Al Murhajioun (AM). These visits began in September 2010 and continued into the following year. It provides an insight into the processes involved in the co-production of social control and security in communities, and reveals the centrality of effective community-police relations. The case also illuminates the early dynamics and negotiations involved in decisions taken by a range of actors about how, when and where to become involved in challenging extremists. The introduction of an extremist group into this area of Birmingham stimulates a polarising process, whereby different groups come to assume more distinctive political stances than existed prior to the disturbance.

To place AM's visits in context, this was the same area discussed previously in relation to Project Champion, where strident community objections had arisen to the installation, under false pretences, of numerous large and intrusive combined CCTV and audio masts in the locality. It was the view of many respondents that the public displays of grievance and anger had drawn high-profile representatives of AM to the area, possibly in an attempt to exploit the negative emotions evoked by the situation, for their extremist agenda. Such a move would be consistent with recent trends in 'AQ' and right-wing extremist propaganda to exploit local, national and international grievances for their own ends.

Yet for all the apparent damage to police community relations, it was observed that the community had in fact weathered many significant events that had tested its relations with the police over the last 30 years. This included Operation Gamble after 9/11 that involved the high profile armed arrest of terrorist suspects and the subsequent sealing off of streets and intrusive mass media coverage. That legacy and the learning on both sides resulting from it, meant that although relationships were seriously strained, at no time did those respondents

interviewed consider abandoning the relationship. Indeed, the appearance of AM and the threat they were perceived to pose, may have helped to overcome community reluctance, and encouraged them to re-engage with the police. It is apparent that AM may have significantly misjudged the public mood. This is evidenced in the community response to the stimulus provided by AM's first appearance in Alum Rock Road sometime in September 2010. In order to understand the stimulus for action that galvanised the community into counter-activism, it is first necessary to unpick the early sequence of events that gave rise to that response.

According to respondents, representatives of AM first appeared outside the Methodist Church in Alum Rock Road, where they deliberately positioned themselves so as to impede access to the church. However, interfaith partnerships in the area appear strong and it was through this social network that members of the Muslim community were first alerted to their presence. We can see here then an explicit example of the community acting to define the presence of a problem. It is not clear though whether the police were involved in or even alert to this problem-definition phase. There appears to have not been any direct contact on that occasion, in fact Muslim community members dissuaded members of the Methodist church from confronting the AM presence, fearing they would use any such confrontation to stir up trouble locally around an anti-Christian narrative. The following Saturday, a group of AM supporters again appeared in Alum Rock Road, this time using a loud hailer. However, in the intervening period community members were now alert to them and were beginning to react, as a respondent explained,

So by that time we dug a bit of information and found out this guy was [Name], Googled him and it was just wow, I was thinking oh my gosh, this guy's got a history and a half behind him." (Community, 265)

At this point, according to one of the police respondents, a Neighbourhood Officer from the Alum Rock area team had separately alerted the West Midlands CTU to AM's presence. The officer had previously seen their leader on television and recognised him when he saw him outside the Methodist Church on the first Saturday, with a stall, handing out leaflets. This underscores the importance of front line patrol resources having basic visual recognition capability for key individuals. This requires such officers being given information in order to inform and develop their intelligence potential.

In response to the independent community and police discovery of the identity of AM's leader, a clear need for intervention was established. This was communicated, negotiated and agreed through established social networks,

We sat with the police, set up a little reference group just on this point and we had the local churches involved and we set up a committee with all the local mosques in the area and the churches and the police and we started working as a community with the police to see how we can remove this menace." (Community, 189)

Already it can be seen that the resources are being brought together that will facilitate a co-productive response. A broad tranche of the Muslim community support was being engaged in formulating the basis of the response, such that key local opinion formers were starting to take a political stance in opposition to the AM propaganda. This instigated intra-community separation between the supporters of AM and its opponents, many of the supporters were not drawn from the local area, but instead from Luton and London. In essence, this created an instantly hostile environment for anyone espousing such views within the Alum Rock community. It was clear that a broad based Muslim coalition was constructing the problem as one where they had to take the lead,

We really needed the community to take lead on the whole thing. So two reasons; the first reason is because the majority of the people in the area were Muslims, secondly because that would give [Name] no leg to stand on, because he was claiming to be standing up there for the Muslims and he's been driven out by the Muslims because they don't want his nasty types in the area. And that's what happened." (Community, 265)

From a police perspective, 'the Reference Group' model originally developed to bring resolution to the Project Champion issue provided a valuable institutional approach. It enabled police action to be negotiated and integrated into a co-produced response that with common support. This was found to be particularly important as potential legal control routes were explored by both the police and council but subsequently rejected for a number of pertinent reasons. The assessment was that they were likely to be: ineffective; or too longwinded in process terms (such as securing an ASBO) to be timely; or perceived by the reference group to be likely to provide AM with a valuable propaganda opportunity, given the media interest a public arrest of their members would invoke. This aspect of the story is important in terms of understanding the four ideal-type interventions catalogued previously in this report. For what can be seen is that police tried other more orthodox routes to manage the problem, but resorted to a community co-produced solution because it offered a better option.

As early as the second Saturday, the community caucus had initiated direct confrontation with AM in the street. One respondent described how this counter-activism was initiated,

One of our friends, you know, him and his wife, I mean I'll just describe him to you, he's got a big beard, his wife wears the whole hijab and everything, they came round and his wife just told him in so many words to go and get stuffed, get out of here, we don't need your type. So they put a lot of pressure, so the community put a lot of pressure on him, so he sort of diluted the whole thing that he was doing. And then the other thing we did was we set up a council of Mosques, so all the Mosques in the area, we got them all together round a table and to have a clear consensus that we don't want this guy in the area, we'll go and speak to him and get him kicked out, because we do not want him." (Community, 265)

Interviews with police and CTU officers showed how the security solution came to be co-produced. Co-production occurs when local groups utilise public security resources to achieve an impact on a problem that neither could produce

by their own means alone. In this case, the arrival at a co-produced solution was essentially pragmatic, as a CTU respondent explained,

The community was saying we are going to 'front' this guy and our line was we'll support you. Because by that time we had explored the prosecution option and there was nothing really on the table." (Police, 451)

Such pragmatic origins of co-production nevertheless provide a valuable reference point for future police and community action. At the same time, the police, with the agreement and help of the community, began disrupting the venues where AM planned to give evening talks,

"The community was telling the venues he was booking under different names. We disrupted the first one on the night dynamically, but then phoned round all the others and without any pressure from us they cancelled. So not only was he being approached on the street, he was turning up at venues and being told, look here's your money back. We haven't seen him for months." (Police, 451)

From the community perspective there were clearly some very important reasons for joint activity with the police,

"It is actually a stronger message because all that was done with the backing of the police, the police were informed that this is going to be taking place, so we can't just have members of the public going up and taking the law into their hands for whatever reason, if there was EDL protestors there I don't want the anti-fascist league to go and beat them up and vice versa. So in the same sense if you've just got two people who are going to get into a debate, there could be an argument, there could be disorder. Not on our streets! There's a law so you've got to play in with the law, so we work with the police to make sure that a) we will not escalate it or anything like, and b) if they are around if anything was going to take off they could manage the situation straight away, so it's a partnership." (Community, 189)

The quotation above shows that for this group there was a clear understanding of the limits and boundaries for such action within the scope of legitimate public protest under the law. The presence, backing and co-operation of the police, is vital to the successful functioning of such acts of informal social control.

By way of summary, this case study provides valuable insights into how co-produced community action can frustrate, impede and disrupt the activities of known extremists. It also demonstrates that the impact of such interventions can be greatly enhanced if CTUs have direct and meaningful relationships with community partners, such that they are able to dynamically and transparently negotiate and agree a plan to co-produce effective social control. This case involved no recourse to criminal law enforcement, subterfuge or deceit. Instead it utilised police community relationships to activate social networks of counter

activism. In this particular example, the arrival at such a solution was more pragmatic than planned, but it resonates with several similar stories present in the data. Such modes of intervention are entirely within the scope of the legitimate actions of a democratic state and provide a potential blueprint for the future development of Prevent strategy.

CASE STUDY 2: CARDIFF

The story of the second case study centres upon how several Muslim communities in Cardiff (Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Yemeni, and Somali) have responded to members of AM and its various offshoots and incarnations. Elements of this response stretch back at least ten years in South Wales, reflecting how non-mainstream Islamic voices have been active in the city for a considerable period of time. However, within the last two years a group called Islamic Path (and several other aliases) has emerged in Cardiff and become increasingly visible. It appears that this small group of individuals first appeared in Barry, and has subsequently sought to migrate its activities towards Cardiff. Neither the size of this group, nor the levels of social support it can draw upon, are easy to establish. But of more direct interest to this study are the responses and reactions that their presence has provoked. The interviews have documented a number of counter-radicalisation activities undertaken by several Muslim groups in the area.

The Imam of one mosque and its congregation have taken an active decision not to tolerate members of the extremist group giving out leaflets or coming into the mosque. However, this active 'defence' has not been without costs for the mosque. There are signs of intra-community separation evident, and several mentions were made in interview of how the mosque community has been placed under some stress by maintaining this stance. In particular, the extremist group has had some success in isolating the mosque by spreading rumours at the university and elsewhere that it has sold out to Western ideology. There are unconfirmed reports of overseas Muslim students being told not to go to the mosque. This confirms how engaging in active defence is an ongoing process and commitment, and involves costs to those involved.

The approach at this first mosque can be directly contrasted with that of a second mosque no more than 250m away. This second mosque follows a different theology and whilst it dislikes the extremists, the management and congregation have not stopped them entering. Consequently, they have been less successful at insulating themselves from the extremist group's incursions. There have been some minor confrontations in the mosque, but these have not lead to the group being banned.

Comparing the positions adopted by these two mosques is insightful inasmuch it captures how, even within a small area, there can be very different needs for support. This raises an important question for police and their partners engaged in Prevent delivery work in terms of accurately diagnosing where the kinds of support they can provide is required and of what kind. There has been some success in doing this in Cardiff. In particular, in an example of 'Type 2 co-

production' local community groups were empowered through some subtle assistance to help disrupt a proposed visit by AM to Cardiff. In relation to this event, several community groups involved in counter-radicalisation work in the city mobilised effectively. They organised a public meeting and barbeque for young people to coincide with the event. The result was that the leader of AM cancelled his visit, and virtually no one attended the rally near to the university (this can be seen clearly in videos posted on You Tube).

Two particular issues are of note in respect of this particular response. Even though the visit was successfully disrupted, it still achieved propaganda value for AM. The video posted on You Tube was cleverly edited so as not to reveal that there was no audience for the speakers. Thus for an internet audience it conveys the impression of radical street preaching taking place with impunity in the City. The second issue is that, in preparing a response to the AM provocation, the Prevent policing team attempted to access funds quickly enough to support the response of local community groups, but were not able to do so. In the end, funding for the diversionary events came from the local mosques themselves.

Since this time, the more extremist groups have continued to probe into the area. For example, on 10th July 2010, 'Ummah Rise' held a static demonstration in Cardiff purportedly concerning the banning of the wearing of head scarves in France and Belgium. Several formal and informal interventions took place to reduce the overall impact of this event. Formally, members of the Prevent team were involved in awareness raising activities in and around the local mosques and through trusted youth service providers. Informally, a small local group of young Muslims prepared some 'counter-narratives' designed to undermine the propaganda of Ummah Rise and disseminated these locally.

The story provided from within the community about the state of Prevent in Cardiff is one where there is a high degree of reliance upon the internal capacities and capabilities residing within the community itself. Albeit there are some subtle police interventions taking place behind the scenes, the community views proffered are that these Prevent activities are only lightly coupled to the 'real' counter-radicalisation work being performed.

This is demonstrative of some of the problems associated with co-producing the delivery of Prevent policing. In some cases there is a need to ensure that police-led activity does not impede or inhibit the forms of 'organic' informal social control that emanates from within resilient communities. This is freighted with significant implications inasmuch as it recognises that in some instances it is best for police to 'get out of the way' and cede responsibility to communities. On other occasions though, there is a need for police to more directly seed and empower communities, but in fairly low visibility ways. This may involve providing some protection to key individuals without them knowing what interventions are being performed. An additional problem for the police is actually working out which groups they should be partnering with, and the potential ramifications for their connections to other communities. It is in this sense that Prevent policing is inherently political with both a big and small 'p'.

SUMMARY

The two case studies presented in this Chapter help to outline some of the key considerations involved in doing Prevent policing in practice. In particular, the detailed and 'high resolution' examination of specific incidents from a variety of perspectives helps to deepen our understandings of what is involved in the conduct of 'Type 1' and 'Type 2' co-production.

A second key feature fore-grounded by the case study approach is in helping to illuminate how the problems being dealt with by Prevent policing cannot be viewed in isolation. Indeed, in the Birmingham case it can be seen how AM's presence is itself a direct response to the issues raised by Project Champion. The tenor of the community response to this provocation and their ability to mobilise and work in collaboration with the police is grounded in past events in the area. Switching focus to Cardiff, we can see that the same groups are involved. Equally importantly, it is possible to detect a slightly different tone to the response that was manufactured in Cardiff.

CHAPTER 5: ASSESSING THE GENERAL EFFECTS OF PREVENT POLICING

Having examined the processes and structures used to organize the delivery of Prevent policing and some of the situational variations pertaining to these, the focus of the analysis now shifts. This Chapter details some of the broad outcomes and effects associated with the conduct of Prevent policing. The focus is upon mapping some of the general patterns and trends that can be detected. These are refined and elaborated in more detail in Chapter 6. However, the value of setting out these higher-level assessments now is that they start to contest and challenge a number of assumptions and claims that have dominated public debates about the United Kingdom's approach to counter-terrorism and its implications.

Contrary to some such claims suggesting that the implementation of Prevent has contributed to widespread alienation of the UK's Muslim communities, the data drawn from the British Crime Survey suggest that any such effects are more nuanced. This is consistent with many of the qualitative interviews conducted with community representatives where balanced perspectives on Prevent and its effects were articulated. Frequently for instance, interviewees would talk about the problems they perceive with Prevent, whilst later on in the same interview, describing the difficulties that the authorities face and recounting examples of effective practice. By way of example, one respondent described the general cynicism pervading community attitudes,

"Take this Prevent agenda for example, the community out there generally says they're only paying attention to us because they think we're a terrorist and that's why they're doing it. They're not doing it because they need us or want us, but they're doing it because they're worried about us."

Continuing on this theme he went on to acknowledge that,

"I do understand the police, the government, the enforcement agencies are in a difficult position how to really engage the community. It is a challenge." [Community, 2633-07]

A second respondent in a different part of the country also accented both positive and negative dimensions of policing,

"I think the police have obviously shown great interest...We still have a lot of problems and a lot of anti-social behaviour, which the local people think the police is not doing anything about...I think these Community Support officers, visually they are out and about...They're not just doing policing, they're also building community relationships...It's not just about police getting in there and doing the business... these officers I think they're doing the leg work, the ground work, which is changing peoples' perceptions." (Community, 2654-05)

As this man notes, building trust and confidence necessitates engaging around a fairly broad agenda beyond just counter-terrorist issues. It requires building community relationships in order to start to influence peoples' hearts and minds.

Similarly complex views, albeit differently focused can be detected in the following quotation from a third respondent who started off by discussing the limitations he saw with community responses,

“So the ultimate truth here is that we haven’t mobilised ourselves properly and we’ve not been able to tackle even simpler things that really should be simple for us.”

He then extended this critique from a focus upon the community to include the police’s position,

“The police on the other hand, I don’t think they don’t help themselves, because a lot of the police issues are tick box objectives.”

Overall, a significant proportion of the community representatives interviewed set out quite complex perspectives on Prevent policing, acknowledging the presence of both positive and negative dimensions. Thus, a realistic assessment of Prevent, and what it is and is not achieving, needs to be sufficiently refined to reflect the suppleness of the public’s actual views.

The rest of the Chapter combines cross-sectional and trend analyses of the British Crime Survey. The former uses data from the 2008-09 survey. The trend analysis is based upon data from the BCS between the years 2004-09. By combining these approaches the analysis is able to describe, in detail, perceptions and attitudes towards policing and crime among the Muslim faith community and the general population living in England and Wales. It is also possible to track how these have evolved over time. This trend analysis is important in affording insights into whether the experiences and perceptions of Muslim communities in relation to crime, disorder and policing have been improving, declining or diverging from those of other groups in society, as Prevent policing has been implemented.

It should be clarified that the BCS does not include any questions directly addressing social reactions to Prevent policing or terrorist risks. As such, the survey does not provide any direct measures of Prevent policing activity or its impacts, nor are there any comprehensive publicly available data on this. The BCS does though include a wide-ranging array of questions relating to more general police performance. For the purposes of this report, these are applied as indicators that integrate Prevent policing activity with other local policing interventions. The presumption is that such indicators will reflect perceptions and experiences of Prevent policing. It should be noted though, that in a recent Rapid Evidence Assessment, albeit one grappling with a limited evidence-base, it has been suggested that Muslims may have stronger negative perceptions of current CT legislation.¹³

FRAMING THE ANALYSIS

¹³ DSTL (2010) What perceptions do the UK public have concerning the impact of counter-terrorist legislation implemented since 2000? London: Home Office.

The analysis of the BCS has been designed to accomplish the following aims:

- (1) To help make visible the characteristics of adults living in England and Wales who self-identify with the Muslim faith. To show how faith and ethnic group may shape where and how you live, not only for Muslims but also for other 'visible' minority ethnic groups in our society.
- (2) At a national level, to compare the current surveyed attitudes and experiences of Muslim respondents with the general population in order to better understand their:
 - a. Perceptions of and confidence in the police;
 - b. Experiences and perceptions of social and physical disorder;
 - c. Exposure to crime risks and threats;
 - d. Levels of community cohesion.
- (3) To track how key attitudes in each of the domains identified above have changed, if at all, among the Muslim and general population of England and Wales using previous years of data from the BCS.
- (4) To utilise the geographical data in the BCS in order to examine how the attitudes and experiences of Muslims vary by Police Force Area.

This study utilises the same analytic approach as employed in recent Citizenship Survey reports of Muslim communities in the UK by comparing a self-identified 'Muslim' faith group with the general adult population.¹⁴ The intention is not to reduce any observed differences between the two groups to faith per se. It is well documented that socio-demographic and material factors have a fundamental impact in shaping the experiences of different faith groups in our society. Rather, attention is focused upon the Muslim group in order to provide descriptive data on how their unique physical and social position in society may shape their exposure to, and experiences of, crime and policing.

Building upon the analysis provided in the preceding Chapter, the current analysis commences by examining perceptions and experiences of policing. This is developed by moving on to examine crime, disorder and fear of crime in Muslim communities. The final section considers how all of these factors shape and configure levels of community cohesion.

PERCEPTIONS OF POLICING

The British Crime Survey provides several measures of local public confidence in the police. One of these is based upon the question *'how good a job are police in this area doing?'* Using this question, ratings were given on a scale from 'excellent' through to 'very poor'.

¹⁴ A discussion of the caveats associated with this approach is provided in the Appendix.

- Muslim respondents were more likely than the general population to give a positive appraisal of the police (excellent or good) and least likely to rate the police as 'poor' or 'very poor'.

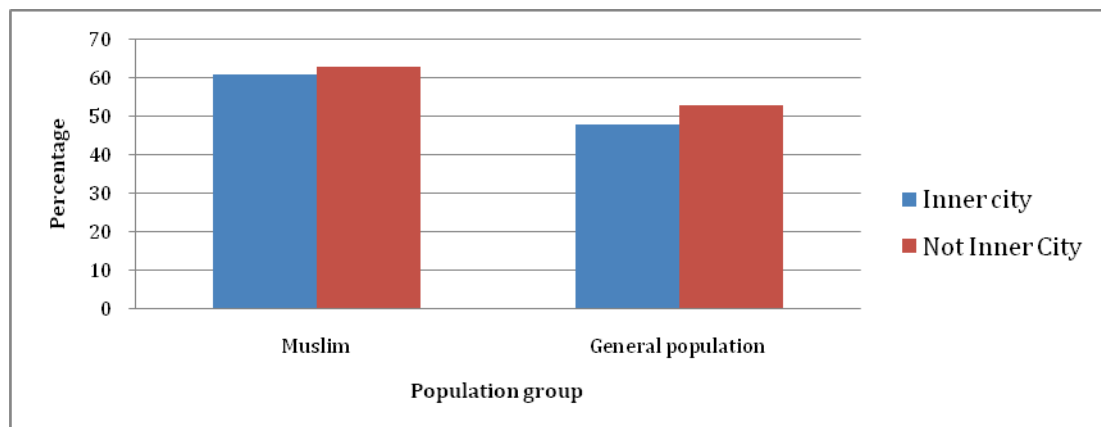
These positive attitudes were evident for both sexes, with 7 out of 10 Muslim women giving a high endorsement of the police compared to 55 percent of women in the general population (figures for men were 56 percent and 51 percent respectively). Unlike the general population where endorsement of local police as 'excellent' or 'good' was static according to age group, younger Muslims under the age of 35 had a less positive attitude towards the local police than their elder peers (Table 3).¹⁵ However, despite this difference among Muslims, the attitude of young Muslim men remained more positive than for the young general adult population.

Table 3: Percentage Rating Local Police as 'Excellent' or 'Good' by Age

| Age | Muslim | General Population |
|-------|--------|--------------------|
| 16-34 | 59% | 53% |
| n | 474 | 9658 |
| 35-54 | 66% | 52% |
| n | 393 | 15524 |
| 55+ | 66% | 54% |
| n | 94 | 19095 |

Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

Figure 2: Percentage Rating Local Police as 'Excellent' or 'Good' by Inner City Locale



Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

For Muslims, whether or not they lived in an inner-city area of England or Wales did not affect their ratings of local police. Approval ratings remained above 60

¹⁵ The base data for this and all the following Tables and Figures are provided in a Technical Appendix available on request from upsi@cardiff.ac.uk.

percent regardless of their type of locale. For the general population, however, ratings of the local police were less positive for inner city residents than for those residing outside the inner city (Figure 2).

Available data were examined to further investigate whether differences existed in the visibility, familiarity or contact with local police between Muslims and the general population.

- The percentage having 'any type of contact' with the police in the last 12 months was identical for Muslims and the general population at 36 percent.
- There was no difference in 'initiated contact' with the police for the two groups, at 23 percent over the same time period.

Attitudes to local policing were also explored in the survey by analysing responses to a series of seven questions about police effectiveness and performance (Table 4). The overall pattern in the table shows similarities for the Muslim and general population. Both give the greatest endorsement to the police in areas of respect (2), understanding of community issues (5) and public confidence (7). Police performance on dealing with minor crime (4) was least likely to be positively appraised by both Muslims and the general population, and public reliance on local police (1) was poorly perceived relative to the other areas, especially for the general population.

Table 4: Appraisals of Local Police Effectiveness

| | Police in this area...(strongly agree or agree) | Muslim | General Population |
|---|--|--------|--------------------|
| 1 | ... can be relied on to be there when you need them | 64 | 47 |
| 2 | ...would treat you with respect if you had contact | 81 | 84 |
| 3 | ... treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are | 67 | 65 |
| 4 | ... can be relied on to deal with minor crimes | 57 | 45 |
| 5 | understand the issues that affect this community | 70 | 65 |
| 6 | ...are dealing with things that matter to this community | 63 | 53 |
| 7 | I have confidence in the police in this area | 75 | 67 |
| N | | 963 | 44601 |

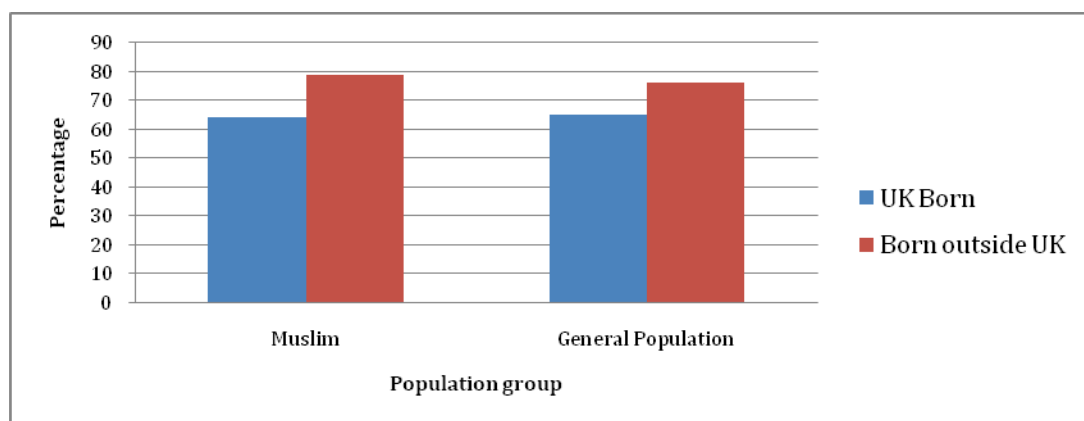
Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

There were differences between Muslims and the general population in the amount of endorsement they gave the different measures of police performance. Muslims were most likely to endorse local police on 6 out of 7 of the indicators. In particular, 64 percent of Muslims agreed that the police can be relied on, compared with less than half of the general population. Approximately 7 out of

10 Muslims also expressed confidence in their local police and agreed that they understand local community issues – higher than for the general population. Muslims were less likely than the general population to agree local police treat people with respect (although overall endorsement was high at over 80 percent). There was little difference between Muslims and the general population concerning the ability of police to ‘treat everyone fairly’ and this, combined with respect, may be areas where Muslims are more questioning of their local police relative to the general population.

Further analysis of local police confidence showed that the difference between Muslims and the general population did not apply to respondents born in the UK (Figure 3). Approximately 65 percent of UK citizens expressed confidence in police regardless of whether or not they were Muslim. Confidence remained significantly higher among those born outside the UK, especially for Muslims (79 percent).

Figure 3: Percentage Who Had Confidence in Local Police by Country of Birth

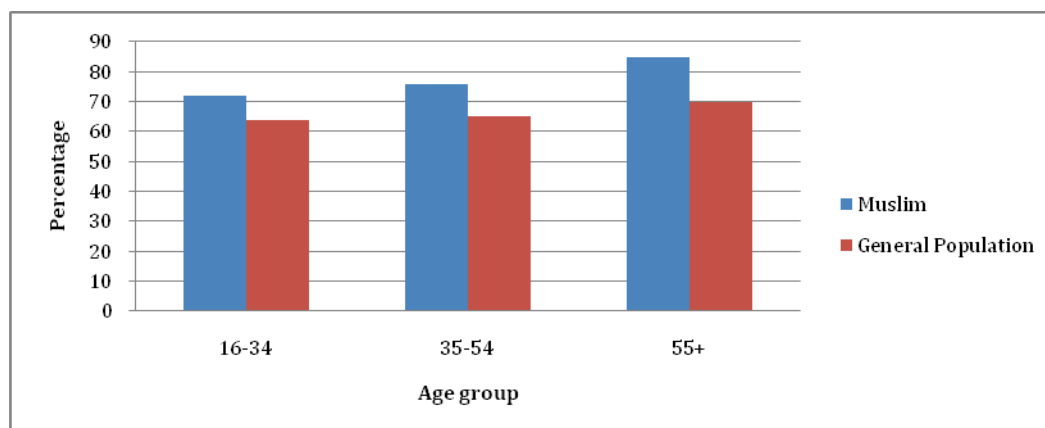


Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

In thinking about the potential effects of Prevent policing it is clear that age is an important consideration given that most Prevent interventions are directed towards young people. Across all groups, respondents in the oldest age band (55+) were most likely to express confidence in local police and this was particularly the case for Muslims. Reported confidence became lower with younger age (Figure 4) and this was clear for Muslims, although overall confidence outweighed that of the general population across all age groups. For both Muslims and the general population, confidence in local police was higher for women than men, but the gender gap in confidence was widest among Muslims. Being the victim of any crime in the preceding 12 months was associated with lower police confidence for Muslims and the general population, but endorsements of police confidence remained above 60 percent for Muslims compared to 57 percent for the general population. In sum, the relationships between confidence and age, gender, country of birth and victim status were the

same for Muslims as for the population in general, but Muslims had a much higher baseline level of confidence in local police.

Figure 4: Percentage Who Had Confidence in Local Police by Age



Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

Reliability testing¹⁶ of the seven attitude items in Table 4 showed that it was appropriate to combine them into a single summed scale of 'police effectiveness'. Positive responses (agree) were scored +3, negative responses (disagree) were scored +1, summed for all items and then divided by 7 to give a scale ranging from 1 (low police effectiveness) to 3 (high police effectiveness). One-third (34 percent) of Muslims agreed with each of the seven attitude statements about local police, meaning they had a maximum score of 3 on the police effectiveness scale. This compared with 23 percent of the general population.

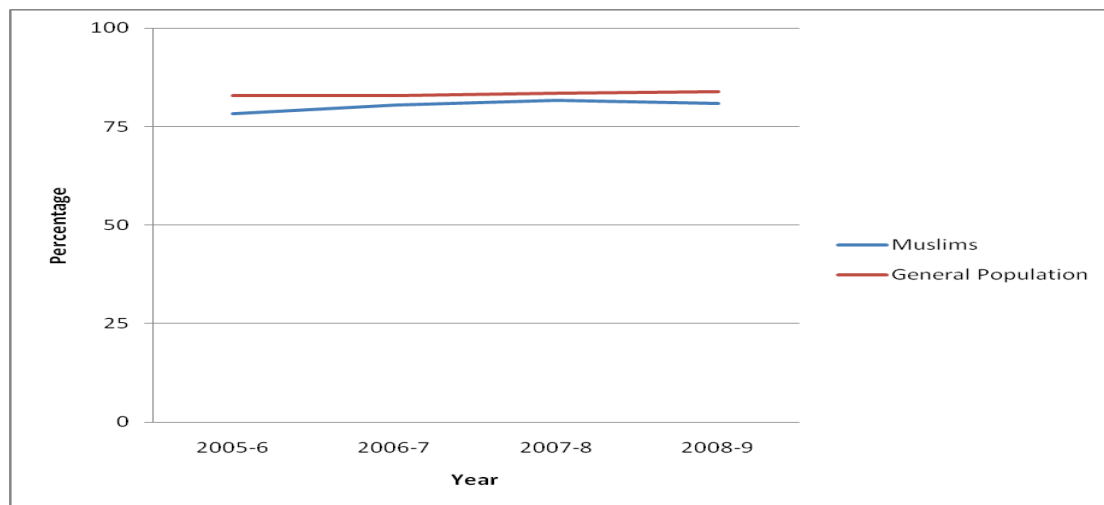
- Among Muslims, those most likely to be highly satisfied with local police effectiveness were aged 35-54, female and living in an inner-city area.

For the general population, inner city locale and age did not impact on the likelihood of scoring high on police effectiveness, but women were more likely than men to be in this category.

Using a number of attitude statements included in the BCS for a four year time period, from 2005-6 it is possible to examine public perceptions of local policing. Figure 5 shows that a high percentage of Muslims and the general population agreed that 'police in this area would treat you with respect if you had contact with them'. The trend over time was very stable and there was little difference between the two groups, particularly in 2007-08 where positive appraisal of local police peaked in this regard, before dipping very slightly for Muslims in 2008-9.

¹⁶ Chronbach's Alpha=0.8.

Figure 5: Time Trends in Respect by the Police



When the issue centred on how far ‘police in this area understand issues that affect this community’, agreement was lower for both Muslims and the general population. Between 2005-6 and 2007-8, there was no difference in the percentage agreeing with this statement at approximately 61 percent. In 2008-09 there was a rise in the percentage endorsing this statement for both groups, but this rise was greatest among Muslims with approximately 70 percent now in agreement that police had an understanding of their local community issues.

Taken together these initial findings about perceptions of policing are important because:

- Contrary to some polemics, it does not appear that Prevent policing is causing widespread or wholesale disengagement and disenchantment within Muslim communities.
- Young Muslims are less confident in policing than their older peers, but they are more confident than young people in general.
- Across a range of other indicators their attitudes display a broadly similar profile.

If Prevent was having an acutely detrimental impact upon police-community relations this is not a pattern we would expect to see.

EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF DISORDER

The analysis in the preceding Chapter identified that there is often a strong alignment between Prevent and Neighbourhood Policing. Many interviewees recognised that dealing effectively with local community concerns was important in building trust and confidence. As such, it is appropriate to investigate the relative impacts that crime and disorder problems are having within Muslim communities.

The BCS includes a number of questions relating to physical disorder (damage to the physical environment) and social disorder (interpersonal or antisocial

problems). Three social disorders stand out as being perceived as a problem by over one-third of Muslims. They were:

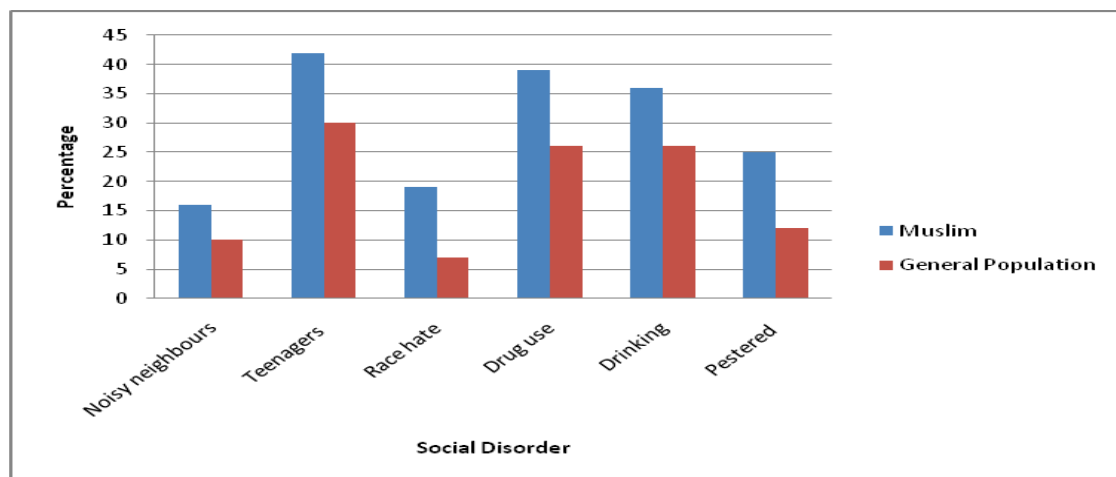
- (1) Teenagers hanging around on the streets;
- (2) Drug use; and
- (3) Public drinking.

These same three issues were also perceived as a problem among the general population, but to a much lesser degree. Other social disorders were a problem of lower magnitude for both groups, but concern among Muslims remained considerably higher for: noisy neighbours; being pestered or intimidated; and racial discrimination.

- Muslims were much more likely than the general population to perceive wide-ranging social and physical disorders in their local environment as problematic.

This has potentially important implications for the conduct of policing. Engaging Neighbourhood Policing assets around these specific issues that Muslim communities find particularly troubling and disturbing, may be important in building trust, confidence and resilience within these groups.

Figure 6: Percentage Rating Social Disorders as a Problem



Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

When responses to the six questions on social disorder in Figure 6 were combined to give a single summed scale, we found that only 1 percent of the general population saw every issue as a problem. For Muslims, this figure rose to 4 percent. This confirms that a well-rounded Neighbourhood Policing strategy may be important in Muslim communities in helping to shape the conditions where more explicitly Prevent focused activities can be effectively conducted.

Those who perceived social disorder in their neighbourhood were more likely to perceive physical disorder in the same area and this inter-relationship was strongest for Muslims. Thirty nine percent of Muslims in the top third for reporting social disorder also reported high physical disorder. For the general population, the corresponding percentage was 33.

In sum, Muslims were most likely to perceive social and physical disorders in their neighbourhood as a problem. However, key areas of reported concern (teenagers, drinking and drug use) were the *same* for Muslims and the general population. Issues that were more specific to the Muslim population included race hate, being pestered or intimidated and noisy neighbours.

On the basis that that three particular forms of anti-social behaviour appear to be impacting comparatively strongly upon Muslims, we examined in more detail how their attitudes had developed over time. For Muslims, drugs and teenagers hanging around were of foremost concern and showed a similar trend over time (Figures 7 and 8). Approximately 44 percent of Muslims rated each of these issues as a 'very' or 'fairly' big problem in 2004-5. This then fell slightly in 2005-6 before reaching a peak of 48 percent in 2006-7 for drugs and 47 percent in the same year for teenagers hanging around. In the years that have followed there was a gradual but consistent decrease in the percentage of Muslims rating either issue as a problem. In 2008-9, reports of these issues as a problem were at their lowest level over the time period (42 percent). For the general population, a higher percentage viewed teenagers hanging around as a problem than drugs, but the overall trend was unchanged over time.

Figure 7: Time Trends in Drug Dealing a Problem

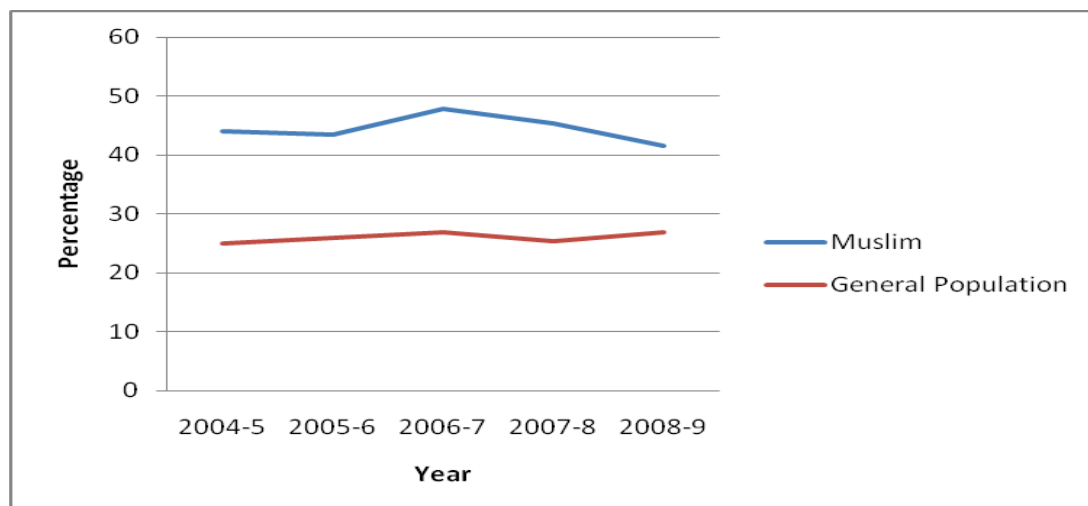


Figure 8: Time Trends in Teenagers a Problem

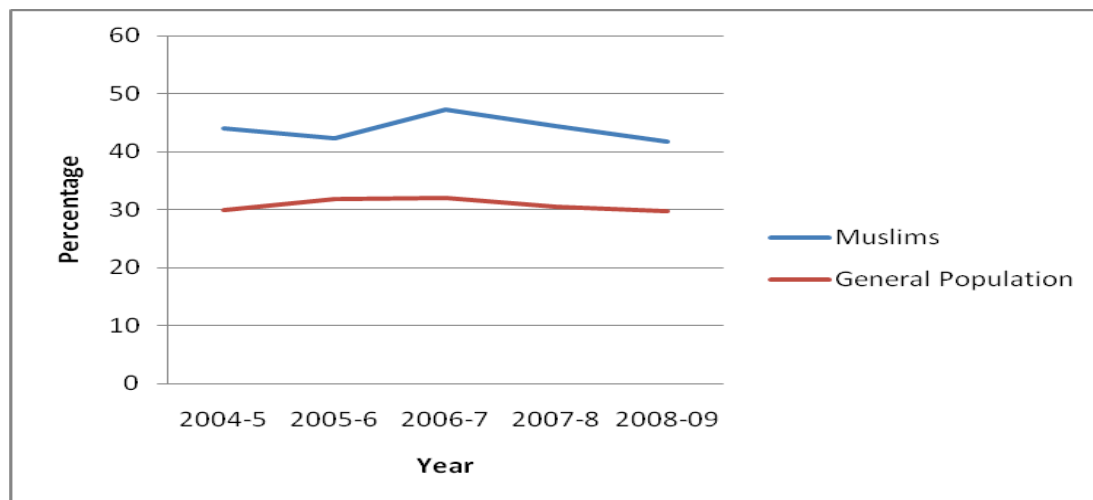
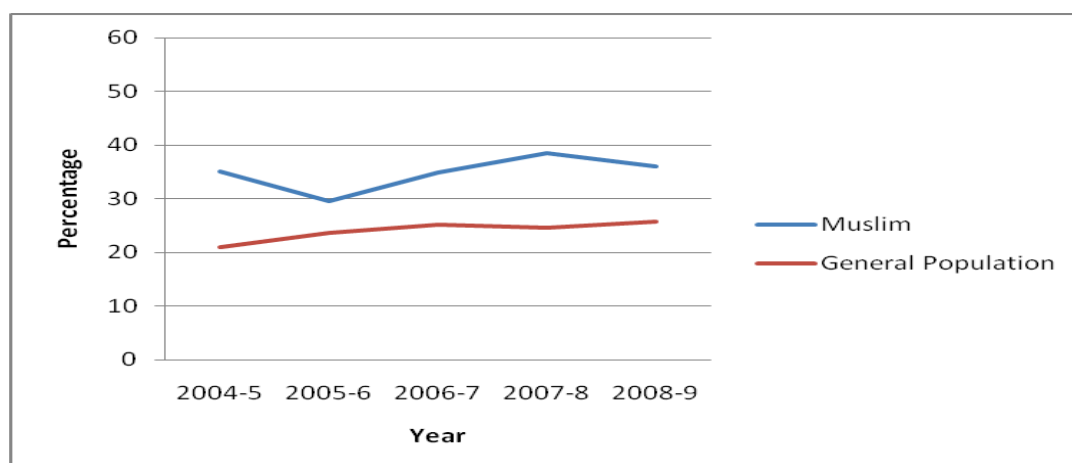


Figure 9: Time Trends in Drunkenness and Being Rowdy a Problem



Although concern about drunk or rowdy behaviour was of a lower magnitude for both groups compared with teenagers hanging around or drugs, the data showed an upward trend in concern among the general population (Figure 9). In 2004-5, approximately 2 in 10 of the general population viewed this as a 'big' or 'fairly big' problem but this has gradually increased over the time period to its highest level of 26 percent in 2008-9. For Muslims, the trend over time was more variable and concern in 2004-5 was much greater than among the general population at 35 percent. The following year however saw a sharp fall in the percentage of Muslims viewing this issue as a problem before increasing levels through 2006-7 and 2007-8. The most recent data for 2008-9 shows perceptions for Muslims and the general population have converged slightly: there has been a fall in concern about drunken behaviour among Muslims at a time when concern is at a high among population in general.

The key finding from this analysis is that Muslims are consistently more likely to view certain forms of ASB as a local problem compared with the general population.

FEAR OF CRIME

The BCS asks respondents to judge how much crime and the fear of crime impacts on their quality of life. This was ranked on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 was minimal impact and 10 was maximal. To illustrate changes in these measures over time, Figures 10 and 11 use a mean score on this scale, calculated separately for Muslims and the general population.

For the general population, the impact of fear of crime on quality of life was fairly static across the five year time period. Mean scores were a little above 3 for each year, showing that fear of crime had a generally low impact on people's quality of life. Mean scores for Muslim respondents were higher than for the general population - indicating that fear of crime had a greater perceived impact on quality of life - but were more variable across the time period. In 2005-6 for example, mean scores for Muslims and the general population converged but in the two years that followed, the negative impact of fear of crime on quality of life was greater for Muslims, reaching a mean score of 4 in 2007-8. The most recent data for 2008-9 shows that the mean score has decreased somewhat, to about that seen in 2004-5, although it still remains above the general population.

When we examined the impact of crime, rather than fear of crime, on people's perceived quality of life, a very consistent picture for the population in general was again found. Figure 11 shows that mean scores were lower than for fear of crime, recorded at just below 3. In 2004-5, there was no difference in scores for Muslims and the general population at a mean of 2.8, indicative of crime having a low impact on quality of life for both groups. There was, however, a substantial increase in the negative impact of crime on quality of life for Muslims in 2005-06 (mean 3.7), a year where the impact of fear of crime had actually *decreased* for this group (Figure 10). Crime had a lesser impact on quality of life for Muslims in the following year, but climbed again in 2007-8 and has remained at a comparable level in 2008-9. In summary, the data show that:

- Crime has had a disproportionately negative impact on the quality of life for Muslims since 2005-6, with mean scores remaining elevated for this group in 2008-9.

Figure 10: Time Trends in Impact of Fear of Crime on Quality of Life

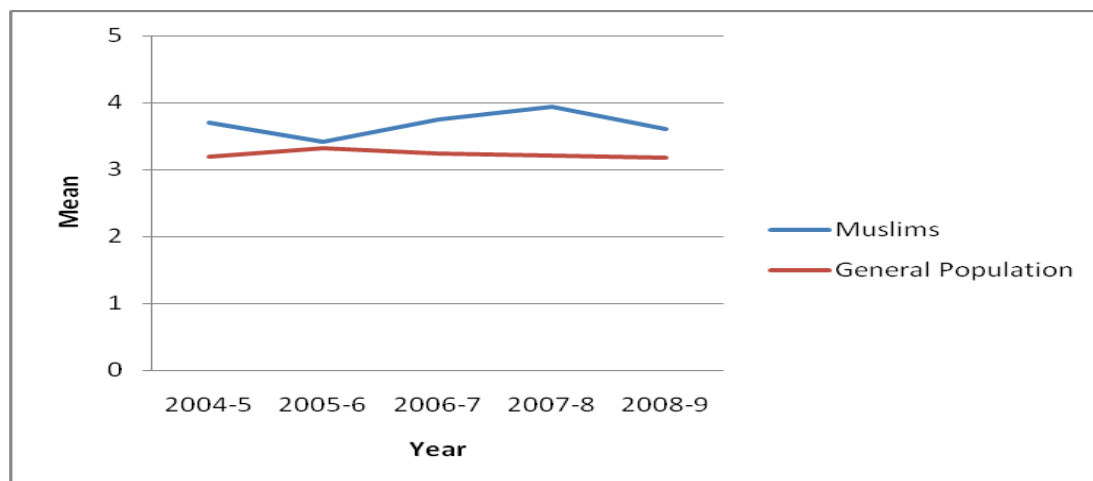
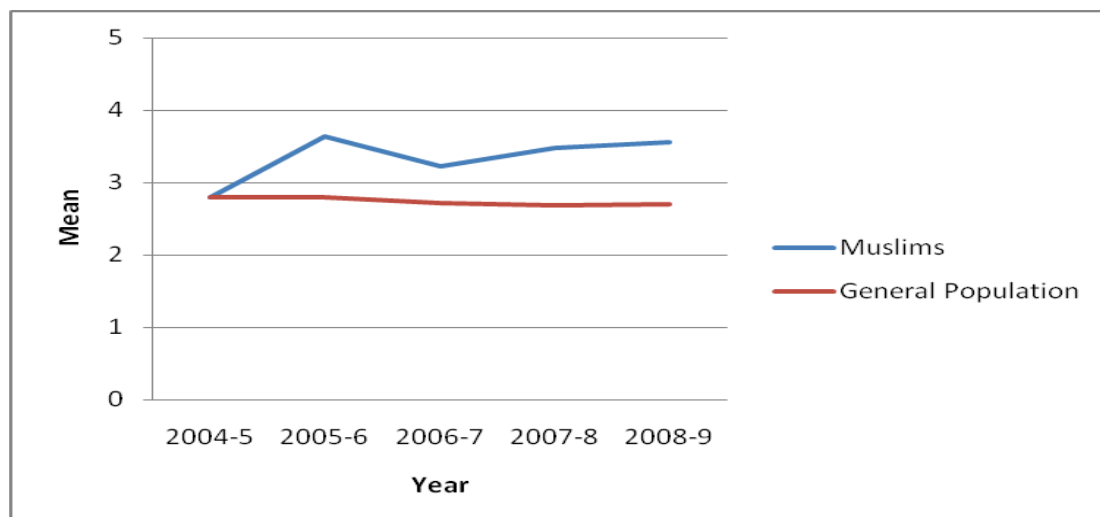
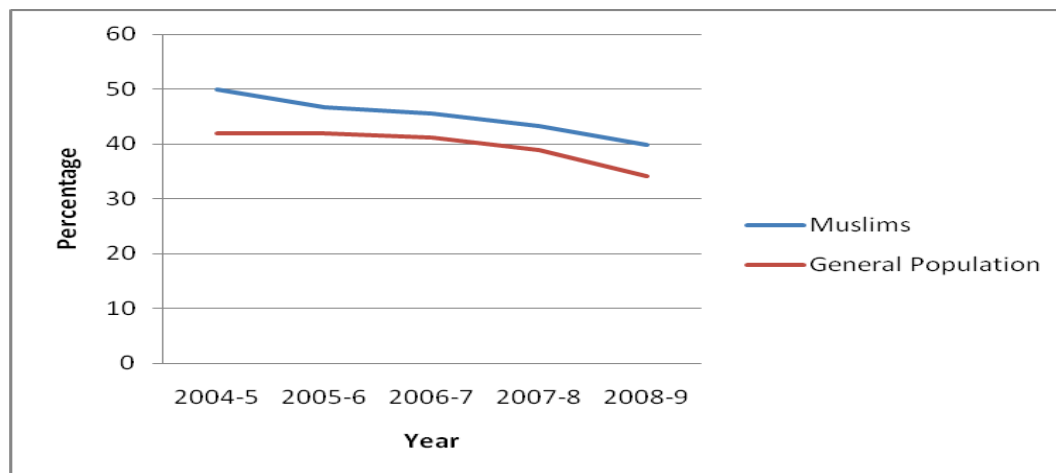


Figure 11: Time Trends in Impact of Crime on Quality of Life



Coherent with the previous figure showing perceived quality of life was more adversely impacted by crime for Muslims, Figure 12 displays how Muslims were consistently most likely to judge the crime rate in their local area as having become a 'lot' or a 'little' worse over the last two years. However, for both Muslims and the general population, the overall trend over the five year period was in a downward trajectory, falling by approximately 10 percent between 2004-5 and 2008-9.

Figure 12: Time Trends in Perceptions of Local Crime Rate

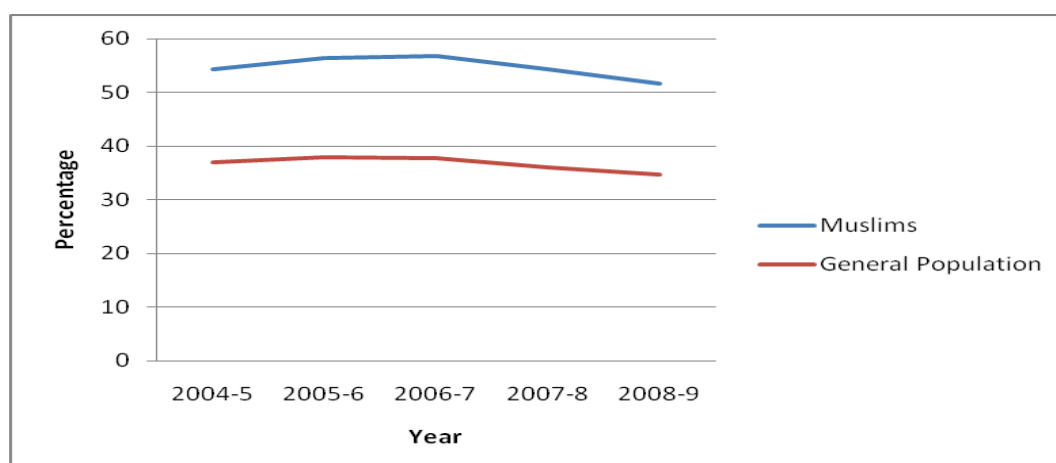


The crime perception gap between Muslims and the general population was much more evident when worry about being the victim of crime was examined.

- A majority of Muslims were 'very' or 'fairly' worried about being the victim of crime throughout the 5 year time period.

Recorded levels of worry have remained fairly static over this time at approximately 55 percent, with a slight dip over the past couple of years to 51 percent in 2008-9. For the population in general, worry about crime followed a very similar overall trend, but at a lower baseline. Levels of worry never exceeded 40 percent among the general population between 2004-5 and 2008-9, and have eased off slightly in the last couple of years to 33 percent in the most recently available data (Figure 13).

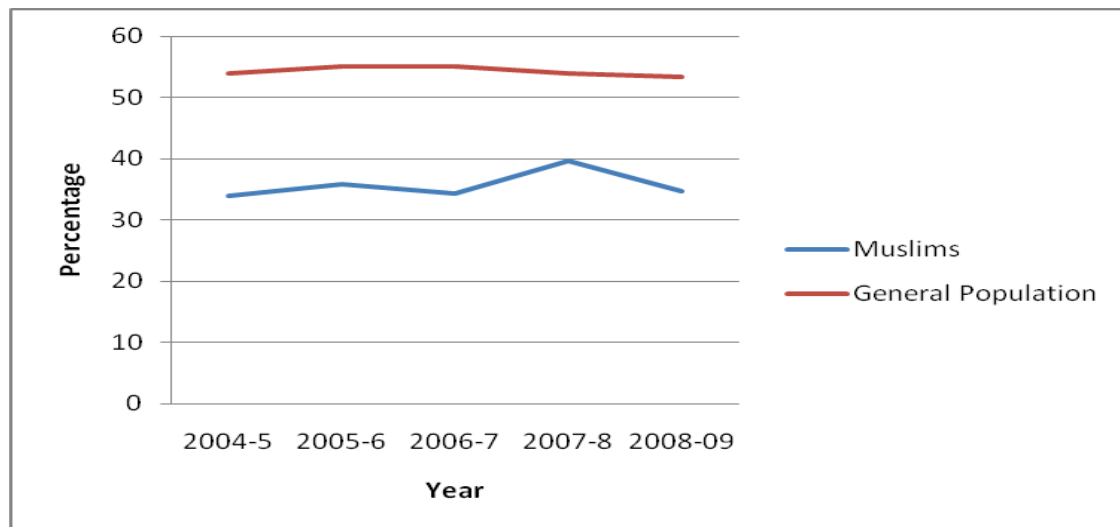
Figure 13: Time Trends in Victimisation Worry



Despite their perceptions of a higher crime rate and greater worry about being victimised, Figure 14 shows Muslims were substantially less likely to have reported being the victim of a crime to the police. In contrast to the general

population, where crime victim status was consistently above 50 percent, levels of crime reporting among Muslims was at approximately one-third (33 percent) between 2004-5 and 2006-7. In 2007-8, crimes reported to police increased to 40 percent, but in the following year returned to its pre-existing level of around 33 percent. This data may be indicative of a reporting effect for Muslims relative to the population in general, that is, Muslims are not necessarily experiencing far lower levels of crime as individuals, but are more reticent about officially reporting it to the police.

Figure 14: Time Trends in Crime Reporting Behaviour



Respondents were asked how worried they are about being the victim of crime, on a scale ranging from 'not at all worried' to 'very worried'.

- Over half of Muslims (52 percent) were 'fairly' or 'very' worried about being the victim of crime, compared with 35 percent of other adults.

Reported worry was higher among women than men regardless of whether the individual was Muslim or not, but Muslim women were much more likely than other women to report worry (56 percent and 39 percent respectively). For both Muslims and the general population, worry about being the victim of crime was fairly stable according to age, although Muslims had a much higher baseline level of worry in each age group at 50 percent or above. Worry was more commonly reported among residents of inner-city areas, but the difference between inner city and non-inner city residents was much smaller for Muslims than for the general population.

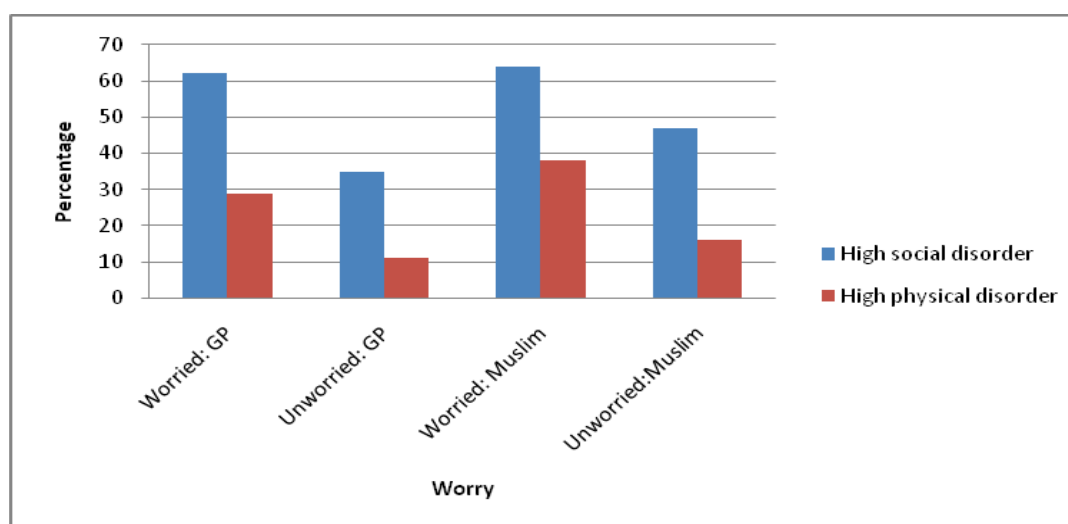
In the general population, worry about being the victim of crime had a negative association with reported confidence in the police– that is, only 58 percent of the worried endorsed the statement 'I have confidence in police in this area', compared with 71 percent of the unworried.

- By contrast, we found that worry and police confidence had no relationship for Muslims.

Reported police confidence was at 77 percent for those worried about being the victim of crime and 78 percent for those unworried. A similar finding emerged when a measure of public ratings of confidence in their local police was used. Worry status made little difference to the percentage of Muslims who rated their police as ‘excellent’ or ‘good’ at approximately 63 percent. Among the general population, those who were worried about crime were much less likely to give the police a positive rating (45 percent) compared with the unworried (56 percent).

Worry among Muslims, as for the general population, was greatest when they reported high levels of social or physical disorder in their local area.

Figure 15: Percentage Reporting High Social and Physical Disorder in Their Neighbourhood by Worry About Being the Victim of Crime.



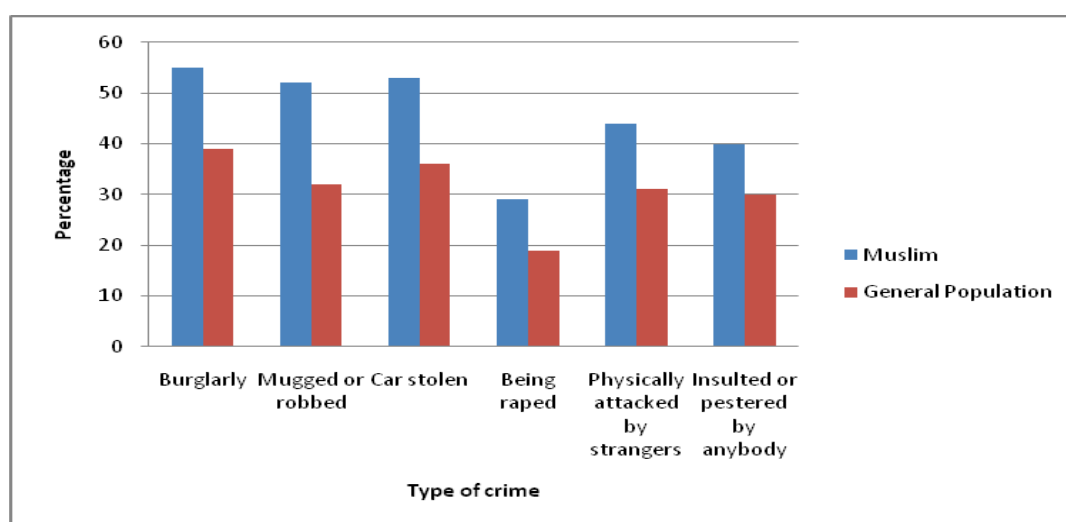
Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

Figure 15 shows that the percentage reporting high social disorder was concentrated among those worried about being the victim of crime (62 percent of the general population and 64 percent of Muslims). High reported social disorder was approximately halved among the general population when people were unworried and was substantially reduced among the Muslim population. The same pattern was found for physical disorder, although the overall percentage who perceived levels of physical disorder in their neighbourhood to be ‘high’ was much lower than for social disorder. Nonetheless, worry about being the victim of crime was associated with reports of high physical disorder more than two times greater than if worry was absent, regardless of whether the individual was Muslim.

Figure 16 shows how respondents appraised individual crimes in terms of their worry about them. The key areas of worry were the same for Muslims as for the general population, namely burglary, being mugged or robbed and having a car stolen. Overall levels of worry about these crimes were much more elevated for Muslims however, with more than 50 percent expressing some worry compared

with around one third of the general population. Muslims were most likely to report worry about other crimes too, with around 1 in 4 worried about being insulted, pestered or physically attacked by strangers, and 1 in 3 worried about being raped. By contrast, levels of reported worry for these crimes were approximately 10 percent lower for the general population.

Figure 16: Percentage Reporting Worry About Specific Crimes

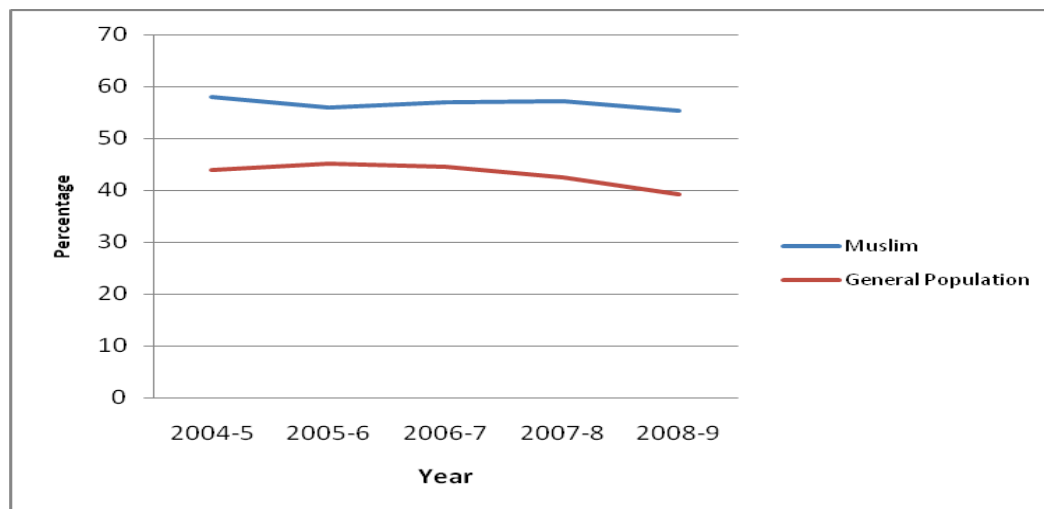


Source: BCS 2009/09 England and Wales

The analysis examined the relationship between these specific crimes by focusing on key correlation pairs for Muslims and the general population. For Muslims there was a strong correlation between worry about being mugged or robbed and burglary ($R^2=.61$, $p<.001$). It was also the case that Muslims who worried about being mugged or robbed were more likely to worry about their car being stolen. The only correlation pair that emerged for both Muslims and the general population was worry about physical attack and being insulted or pestered by anybody. Unlike for Muslims, where concerns centre on personal attack and theft, the correlation pairs for the general population indicate that foremost are worries around sexual attack (being raped) in conjunction with mugging or physical attack.

Figure 17 shows that worry about home burglary for Muslims was just under 60 percent between 2004-5 and 2008-9 – a high level of worry exceeding that found for attack due to skin colour and physical attack.

Figure 17: Time Trends in Worry About Burglary

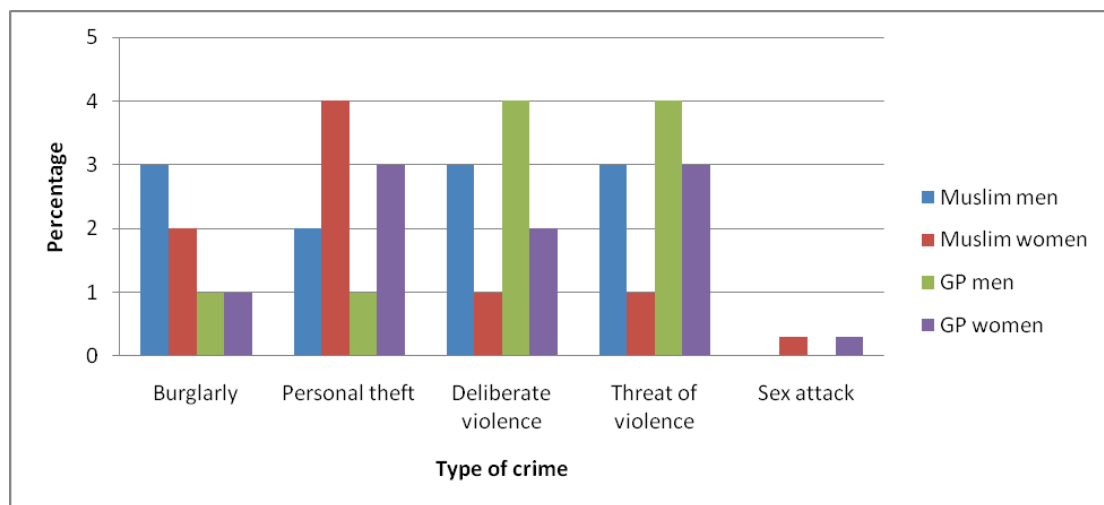


In contrast to other neighbourhood problems so far examined for Muslims, worry about burglary was static across the time period and had fallen by only 3 percentage points over the five year time period. For the general population, there was a lower baseline of worry about home burglary at approximately 45 percent between 2004-5 and 2006-7. Thereafter there was a consistent downward trend in worry with levels at their lowest in 2008-9 at 40 percent.

CRIME VICTIMISATION

Levels of fear of crime are considerably higher than actual victimization experiences for Muslims and the general population. Figure 18 below shows that the prevalence of crime was very low at less than 5 percent of the population. Men were more likely than women to have experienced the threat of violence or deliberate violence, regardless of whether or not they were Muslim. Women were most likely to report personal theft over the last year. There is some suggestion that burglary was more commonly reported by Muslims than the general population, although these differences were small. This does though connect to the qualitative research findings where there is a suggestion that there are particular concerns about burglary in at least some Muslim communities.

Figure 18: Reported Experience of Crime in Last Year by Gender

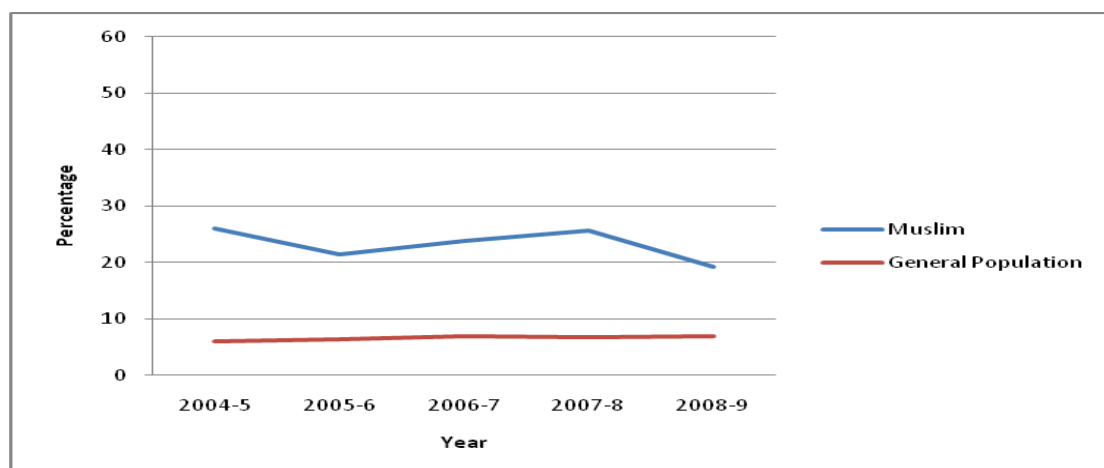


Source: BCS 2008/09 England and Wales

Hate crime and intimidation

Worry about perceived attack due to skin colour (Figure 19) was at a much higher base for Muslims compared with the general population and were more variable across the same time period. In 2004-5, approximately one quarter of Muslims perceived attack due to skin colour to be a problem of some magnitude. The most recently available data for 2008-9 does however suggest that the percentage of Muslims perceiving skin colour as a reason for attack has fallen to 19 percent.

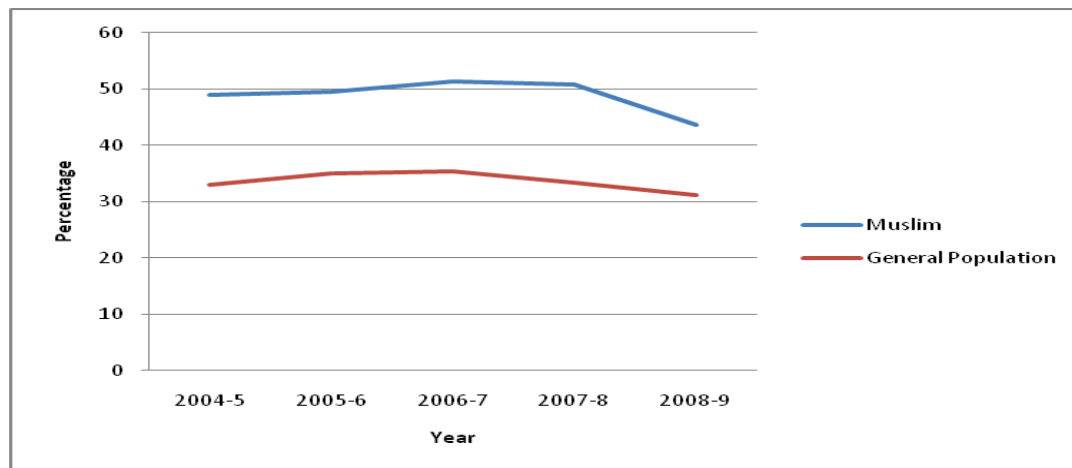
Figure 19: Time Trends in Race Hate Crime as a Problem



A similar pattern was evident when we examined peoples' worry about attack due to skin colour, rather than its perception as a problem. For both Muslims and the population in general, levels of worry are at a much higher level than reporting the issue as a problem.

It is important to note that the documented fall in worry and problem appraisal for attack due to skin colour among Muslims was also evident when other measures of personal intimidation and attack were considered. This carries over into worry about being assaulted (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Time Trends in Worry About Physical Attack



Comparing worry among Muslims with other faith groups in the ethnic category 'Asian', it was found that worry among Muslims was comparable with Hindus (38 percent) but higher than for Sikhs (33 percent). When other ethnic groups were included in the analysis, the greatest worry about racial attack was found for Black Caribbean respondents at 40 percent, with the same level among 'Other' ethnic groups. For adults of 'mixed' ethnic group, 1 in 3 were worried about racial attack with the lowest worry for white adults at 9 percent.

- Therefore, whilst levels of reported worry were clearly elevated among Muslims, they do not predominately worry about attack because of their skin colour relative to other ethnic and faith groups.

By way of summary, Muslims tend to perceive more crime and ASB problems and these issues have a greater impact upon them when compared with the general population. However they simultaneously express higher levels of confidence and trust in the police. This is intriguing and understanding how and why this is so is important in comprehending how response and neighbourhood policing shapes the social context in which Prevent is performed. In order to try and investigate it further, we need to examine how such patterns relate to the state of Muslim communities.

COMMUNITY COHESION

In the introduction to this report it was identified that propagating community cohesion has been a key task performed under the auspices of the Prevent programme to date. Although such activities tend to fall more within the remit of

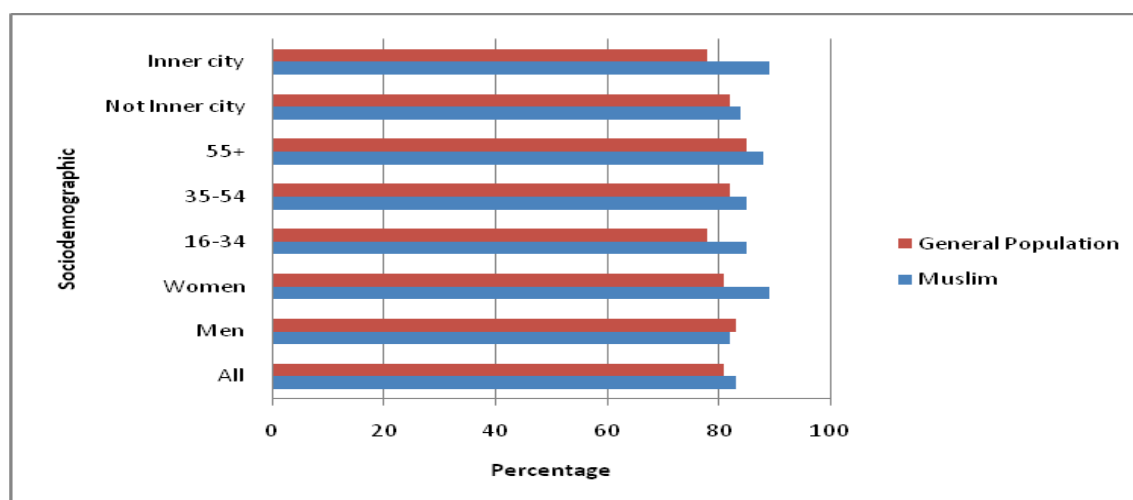
local authorities, it is widely recognized that Prevent policing activities do influence community cohesiveness. In the 2008/09 survey, the indicator relating to cohesion focused on respect, namely: *'thinking about your local area, how much of problem are people not treating other people with respect and consideration?'*

- Overall, Muslims were more likely to perceive lack of respect as a 'big' or 'fairly big' problem than the general population, but this difference was restricted to Muslim men (51 percent) relative to other men (44 percent).

It was not evident among women, for whom concerns about respect were of a lower magnitude than for men. For all respondents, concerns about a lack of respect were most prevalent among the younger age group (16-34), where over half saw this as a problem. Muslim adults born in the UK were more likely than their counterparts born overseas to have concerns about respect and consideration. Inner-city residents were more likely to perceive respect as a problem if they were non Muslim to some degree, but unlike the general population, Muslims were more likely to see this as an issue if they did not live in an inner city.

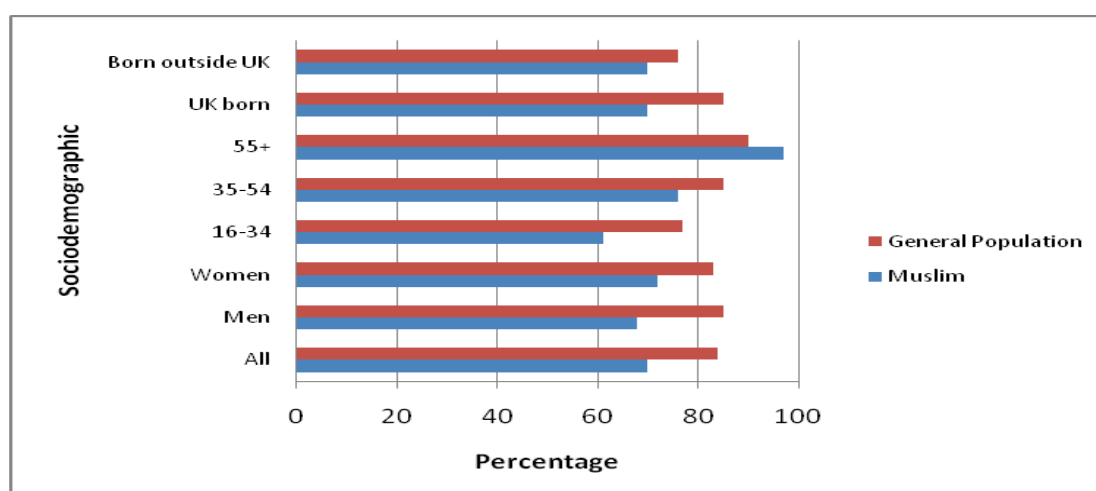
In some ways, the respect question can be seen as the inverse of the 'classic' measure of community cohesion that focuses on the extent to which 'people from different backgrounds get on well together'. Figure 21 uses data from the 2007/08 British Crime Survey to show that overall the vast majority of people endorsed this statement, particularly Muslims. Further analysis showed that this difference was due to the greater propensity of Muslim women to endorse community cohesion (89 percent) compared to women in the general population (81 percent) and Muslim men (82 percent). Among Muslim men, where concerns about respect were at their greatest, reported community cohesion on this measure was comparable with the male population in general, but still very high at over 80 percent. Community cohesion was greatest among Muslims living in inner city areas whereas for the general population, living in an inner city was associated with lower cohesion (78 percent). Notably, there was no suggestion that community cohesion among Muslims was lower among the younger age group, despite the earlier finding of greater concern about respect at age 16-34. Lower community cohesion was linked with younger age for the general population however, with 78 percent agreeing 'people get on well together' at age 16-34 compared with 82 percent in the 35-54 age group and 85 percent of those 55+ years.

Figure 21: Profile of Respondents Who Agreed ‘This Area is a Place Where People From Different Backgrounds Get on Well Together’.



Source: BCS 2007/08: England and Wales

Figure 22: Profile of Respondents Trusting ‘Many’ or ‘Some’ People in Their Neighbourhood



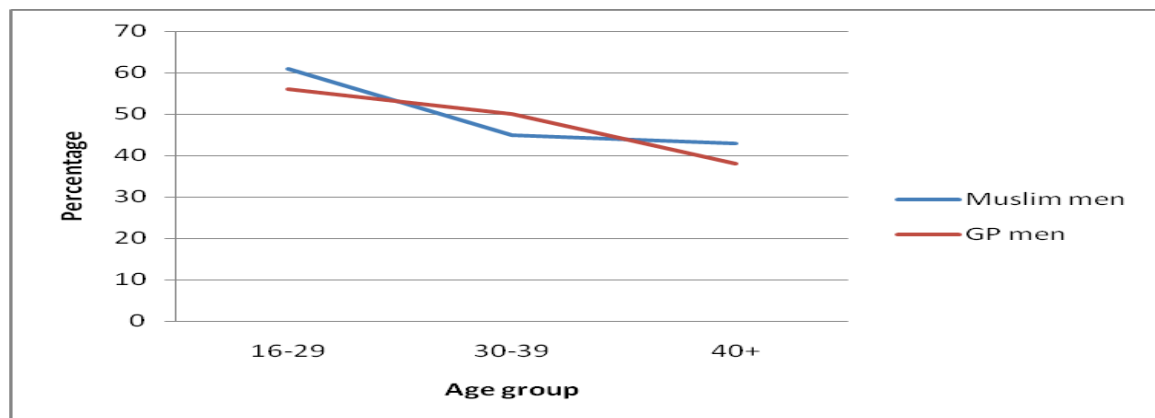
Source: BCS 2007/08: England and Wales

Figure 22 uses the 2007/08 data to focus on levels of inter-personal trust, that is, how likely people are to feel they can trust people living in their neighbourhood. In contrast to the high levels of community cohesion found among Muslims, particularly Muslim women, they were less likely than the general population to display trust in their neighbours. In contrast to community cohesion in Figure 21, gender differences in trust were very small for Muslims and the general population. Lower levels of trust were associated with younger age for all respondents, but this age pattern was more marked for Muslims than for the general population. Whereas reported trust was near universal among Muslims aged 55 and above, interpersonal trust was much lower at approximately 6 out of 10 Muslims aged 16 to 34. Country of birth made no difference to levels of

trust among Muslims at 70 percent, but being born in the UK was associated with greater trust for the general population

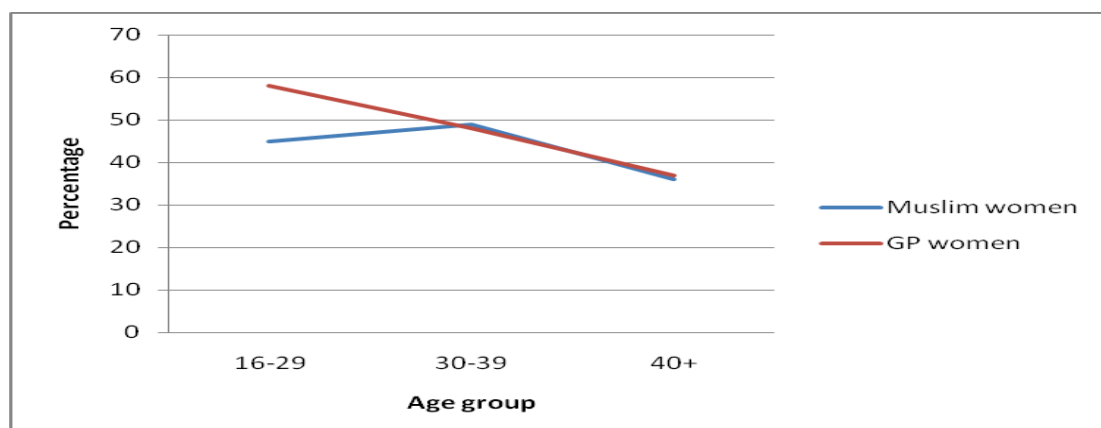
These data suggest the presence of intra-community concerns for Muslims about levels of trust in their fellow citizens. It is not possible to attribute this as either a cause of consequence of their perceptions of Prevent. However, it is supported to some degree by the qualitative data where concerns about fissures and fractures in terms of inter-generational community relations were mentioned repeatedly. In an effort to unpick this issue a little more, analysis of perceived respect was conducted. Figures 23 and 24 report data for males and females separately. It can be seen that overall the numbers perceiving issues of respect as problematic in some way are broadly similar for Muslims and the general population. The exception is for Muslim men aged 24-34 where 60 percent in this sub-set identify problems with a lack of respect.

Figure 23: Men and Perceived Lack of Respect by Age



Source: BCS 2006/7-2008/9

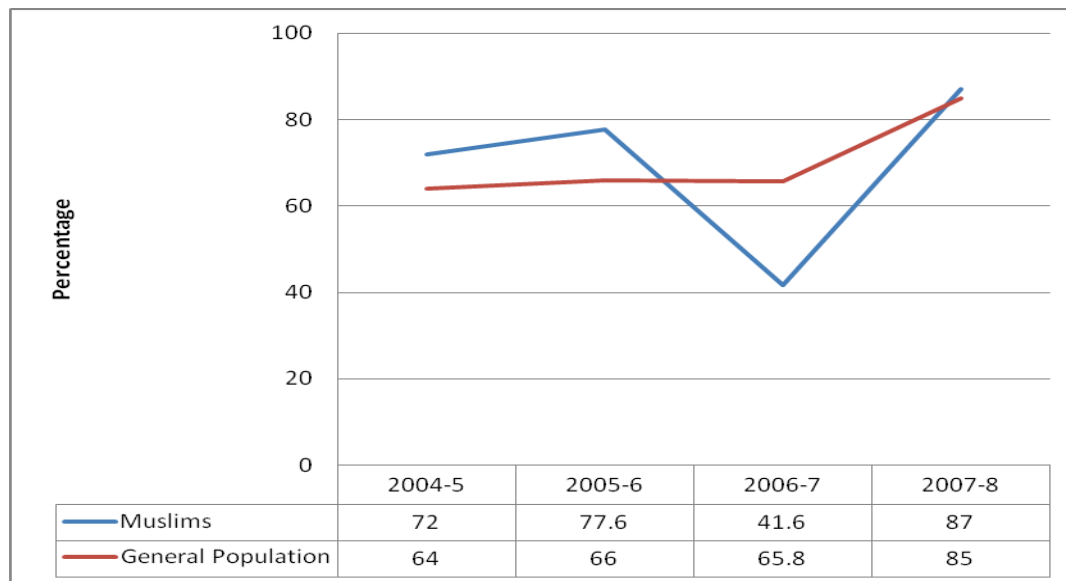
Figure 24: Women and Perceived Lack of Respect by Age



Source: BCS 2006/7-2008/9

Between 2004-08 the British Crime Survey asked respondents what is often thought of as the ‘classic’ cohesion question: ‘whether they agreed that this is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?’ (Figure 25). Tracing out the pattern of responses over this time period reveals a striking and highly significant phenomenon. In the 2006-07 survey there was a dramatic decline in perceived cohesiveness for Muslims. No similar fall is evident for the general population, and the figure has subsequently recovered.

Figure 25: Trends in Community Cohesion



It can be hypothesized that this significant effect might possibly be a reaction to the bombings in London in 2005 and the subsequent response. It seems entirely plausible to suggest that in the aftermath of the events of 7/7 and 21/7 that intra- and inter-community relations became more difficult. This link cannot be proven, but it may be an important indicator that the kinds of measure utilized in the BCS are shaped by developments directly relevant to the conduct of CT policing.

SUMMARY

Based upon cross-sectional and time trend analyses of the British Crime Survey this chapter has sought to compare and contrast the attitudes and perceptions of Muslims with the general population, in relation to crime, disorder, policing and community cohesion. It has been found that:

- Muslim communities are more likely to see their quality of life and perceptions of neighbourhood being negatively influenced by crime and fear of crime;

- Reported experience of crime in the last twelve months was low for all respondents.
- When they were victims of crime, Muslims are less likely to report the incident to the police
- Muslim concerns gravitated around problems of burglary drugs, public drinking and hate crime.
- Muslims had a higher baseline level of confidence in local police compared to the general population, but variables including young age, being male or the victim of crime in the last year had a negative impact on police confidence for Muslims and the general population.
- High police visibility but low police familiarity was exaggerated for Muslims who were far more likely to report seeing police or PCSO patrols in their area, but less likely to know individual officers by name or sight than the general population.
- The time-trend data suggest that overall Muslim attitudes and perceptions have been tracking those of the general population, albeit at an elevated level. There is though a mild effect in the 2005/06 survey where the views of Muslim respondents shifted slightly expressing less worry about volume crimes and a very slight increase in victimisation reporting.
- Relatedly, in the year following the 2005 London bombings, levels of community cohesion amongst Muslims declined markedly. This suggests that indicators contained in the BCS may be shaped by the issues that Prevent is focused upon.
- Levels of community cohesion within the Muslim community have subsequently recovered, intimating that Prevent is not having a uniformly negative impact upon community attitudes and perceptions.

The indicators derived from the BCS seek to provide a holistic form of assessment that understands Prevent policing as an integrated component within a local policing system. Indeed, the particular strength of this approach may be that such data accesses mainstream Muslim community voices, rather than those who are already enmeshed in the highly-charged and contentious politicised debates that Prevent attracts. The patterns detected across the cross-sectional and time trend analyses, and in particular the consistency evident across a range of indicators and over time, supports the contention that Prevent policing does not appear to be a trigger for widespread alienation and disenchantment. Indeed, if anything, overall the majority of Muslim respondents tend to be more confident in and have higher opinions of the police than the general population. This is despite them being more concerned and effected by routine crime and disorder issues. Of course, this does not mean that there are not individuals and groups who are more negatively disposed, only that we should not assume that such views are widely prevalent.

CHAPTER 6: THE LOCAL AND SPECIFIC EFFECTS OF PREVENT POLICING

A key consideration in the delivery of Prevent policing is that the configuration of assets should reflect levels of local need and risk. This contextually sensitive approach to delivery necessarily raises issues of comparative effectiveness. That is, given that there are variations in how Prevent Policing is being organised and conducted, are these reflected in public facing outcomes? Or to put it another way, are these different approaches working equally well in different local circumstances? These questions require that we move beyond the general patterns and trends reported in the previous Chapter, and ‘drill down’ in more detail into the data.

LOCAL RISK ASSESSMENT

The ACPO implementation plan (2008:4) states that,

It is important that the local response to Prevent is proportionate to the level of risk and vulnerability in the area, as determined by risk assessment...delivery is likely to be more intense and comprehensive in those areas where risk and vulnerability is considered to be greatest.

The construction of judgments about relative risks and vulnerability is grounded in the ‘richer picture’ process with such information contributing to the production of ‘Counter-Terrorism Local Profile’ (CTLTP) documents to be shared between key actors involved in delivering Prevent. Detailed guidance about how to construct a CTLTP has been issued to local forces and partners.¹⁷ Such guidance notwithstanding, the interview data intimate that there are varying degrees of confidence in the validity and reliability of CTLTPs across different areas.

Where concerns were expressed, they centered upon the documents being more descriptive than analytic. The essence of such limitations are illustrated by the comments of a member of staff from one CTU,

“What Chief Executives are saying is that’s great but it doesn’t tell me a great deal that I couldn’t pick up from the Sunday Times...they were bland.” (Police, 2659-07)

Developing this theme, the respondent described how they had been working to find ways of moving beyond CTLTPs that had been produced on the basis of what information agencies were willing to share, to documents that set out what service deliverers need to know,

“At your commissioning meeting it won’t just be analysts from within the CT world sitting down and going right, what are we going to tell them...it’ll be around sitting down with the partnership and saying ‘right what do you want to know?’ ...so hopefully the next iteration will be a lot more focused and a lot more useful.” (Police, 2659-07)

¹⁷ Home Office et al. (2010) Counter Terrorism Local Profiles: An Updated Guide for Local Partners [Restricted].

An officer from a different police force described the process of developing the CTLP and how it should be informed by a variety of sources of public, police and local authority data,

“It will be based on the number of intelligence logs that have come in, number of Rich Picture locations... number of CT operations in certain areas. It will be based on other factors, sort of vulnerability indicators, deprivation indicators and all that was put into a formula by our analysts and they came up with a threat map, and then we allocated resources as we were able to that threat map.” (Police, 2611-11)

However, doubts were expressed by several respondents that although the locally constructed threat assessments may describe the state of a community and the presence of some visible problems, they are not informed by a conceptually robust model of radicalisation and risk factors for radicalization,

“It’s been a significant challenge to the analytical community, the production of these documents and I think it will continue to be so.” (Police, 2659-07)

Acknowledging the combination of practical and conceptual difficulties encountered in preparing CTLP threat and vulnerability assessments is important in terms of crafting a realistic local narrative about what is and is not occurring within a community.

Relatedly, the concept of risk may have been operationalised in too static a form, particularly at a strategic level. It appears that in deciding which areas of the country rated as comparatively high and low risk, and thus warranting higher intensity policing, the original assessments were based upon little more than relative population densities. In effect, the more Muslim residents there were in an area the greater the presenting risk. However, a particular defining quality of terrorist risk assessment is that it invariably involves imperfect information about a very rare phenomenon. Moreover, terrorist risks are especially dynamic. If one is able to reduce the threat posed to one particular target, then assuming a steady stream of motivated potential assailants, the risk profile of other potential targets is raised. Translated into practice, if Prevent policing is instigated in a particular high intensity form in a particular locale, then those sympathetic to terrorist causes will simply shift their activities to where they perceive greater vulnerability.

This process is arguably illustrated by a case that was ongoing whilst the fieldwork was being conducted. The dynamic nature of the risks being treated was articulated by a community member who described how,

“In [City name] we haven’t had any problems before, but all of a sudden now there is talk about there is a problem, whereas before it wasn’t seen.” (Community, K).

This is perhaps suggestive that the conceptual framework for Prevent policing would benefit from introducing a differentiation between ‘steady-state’ chronic risk dispositions, and more dynamic and acute forms. Such distinctions are

potentially important inasmuch as they suggest different patterns of response. Steady state risks relate to circumstances that are generative of ongoing threats, tensions and problems to be controlled. Managing such risks requires ongoing longer-term interventions to reduce the scale of the presenting risks. In contrast however, there are a number of cases over recent years indicating that extremist groups are increasingly trying to induce problems in groups and areas outside of the established risk profiles in a deliberate fashion. These necessitate a different form of policing and community response that is flexible, fluid and adaptable.

Consequently, CTLPs might be enhanced by thinking more rigorously about the concepts of threat and vulnerability as different types of risk, and how they should be translated into different local postures. The national guidance on the production of CTLPs locates considering risk, threat and vulnerability as a core component of the CTLP process. Some practitioners remained concerned though, that at a local level understanding of such issues remained fuzzy, and was not transparently connected to different modes of response. For example, if a degree of vulnerability is detected then the emphasis should be upon invoking 'defensive' measures. Contrastingly, treating a more direct threat requires more 'offensive' interventions. These defensive and offensive interventions can be police-led, community-led, or co-produced, depending upon local circumstances. A well written CTLP provides the basis of an evidence-led approach to deciding upon particular combinations of defensive and offensive measures, according to the vulnerabilities of local communities and the 'steady-state' and 'dynamic' threats posed to them.

Developing an evidence-led understanding of conditions at a local level in this way requires that we considerably refine and extend the analysis. This is the focus of the rest of this Chapter. It continues by looking in a detailed fashion at demographic effects in the UK Muslim population, before then examining what the BCS can tell us about the performance of Prevent in different police force areas. The Muslim population in the UK, in common with a number of other minority groups, has a characteristically more 'youthful' age profile in comparison to the population in general. This is particularly the case for women, whose life experience, roles and use of public space is also markedly different from that of men and is likely to have an impact on how they feel about the police in their area and the crimes that affect them. For the majority of the analyses reported here, two years of the British Crime survey were combined for 2007/8 and 2008/9 in order to boost the sample size of Muslims. (The exception was for those questions asked to the entire sample for 2008/9 where this was not an issue). A combined sample of over 1500 Muslims also permitted more in-depth reporting at area or PFA level. (For further information about the sample, see Appendix).

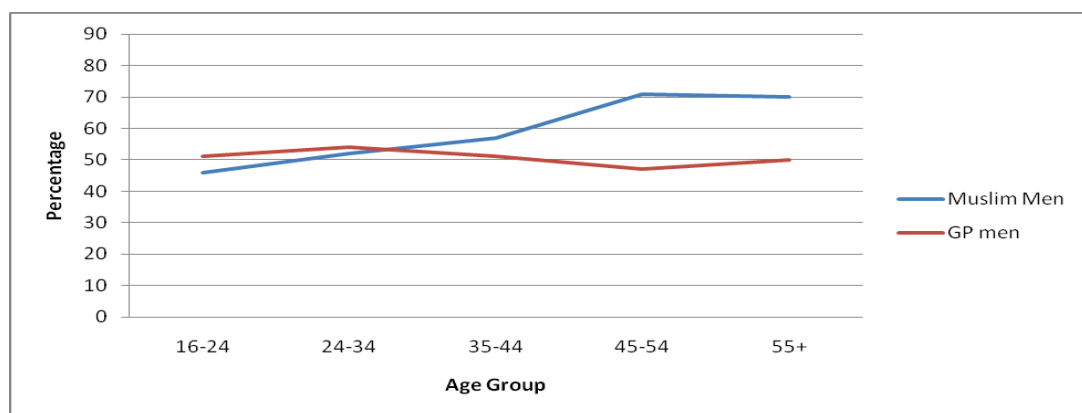
DEMOGRAPHIC EFFECTS ON ATTITUDES TO POLICING

Figure 26 illustrates how age is related to attitudes towards the local police for men. For Muslim men:

- Those in the youngest age group (16 to 24 years) were least likely to rate their local police as 'excellent' or 'good'.
- Less than half of young Muslim men gave the police a positive appraisal and this was lower than for men of the same age in the general population.

Attitudes towards the local police remained fairly stable with age for men in the general population, with about half giving a positive rating. For Muslim men there was a substantial age-related increase in positive attitudes that peaked at 70 percent for those aged 45 to 55, and leveled off thereafter for the oldest age group (55+). Age differences were thus magnified in older age groups of men; 7 out of 10 Muslim men aged 45 and above gave positive ratings of local police compared with 5 out of 10 men of the same age in the general population.

Figure 26: Percentage of Men Rating Local Police as 'Excellent' or 'Good'



Source: British Crime Survey 2008/9

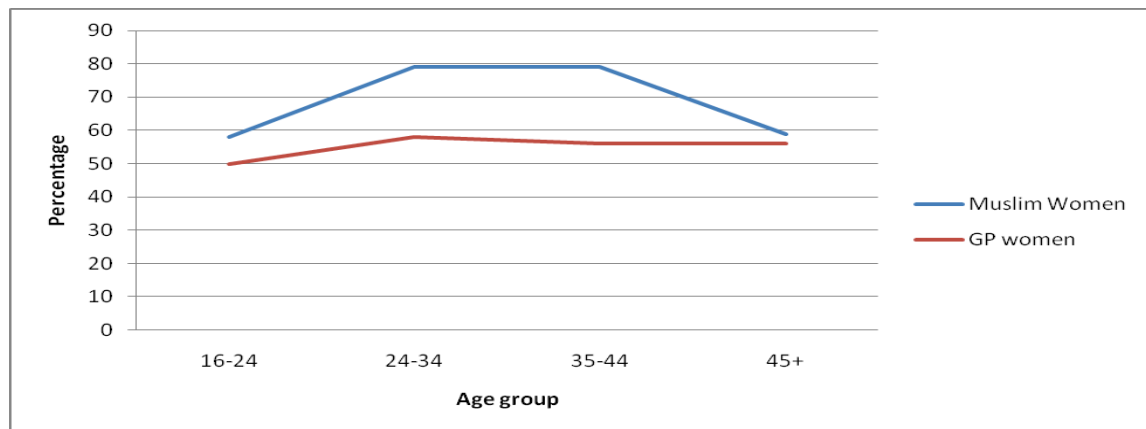
This is potentially a very important finding for Prevent policing. For although as shown in the previous Chapter, overall Muslims display a similar profile to the general population, in terms of attitudes to the police, young men actually have slightly more negative views. This may then be an effect of the focus of much Prevent policing and also street-policing in general. However, whilst acknowledging this, it is also important to clarify that over 45 percent of young Muslim men gave a positive assessment of local policing. In line with the point made previously, this evidence strongly supports the contention that whilst there may be concerns about Prevent policing and it may impact moderately negatively upon the views of some groups, there is not a strongly anti-police position detectable in the mainstream Muslim population.

The same analysis for Muslim women showed a markedly different picture, with ratings of the local police lowest at either end of the age spectrum but rising to a plateau of 80 percent for those in the 24-34 and 35-44 age groups (Figure 27). The very high satisfaction with police for these age groups of women far exceeded that of Muslim men but was reversed by age 45 and above¹⁸, a time when positive ratings soared among men. Overall, women in the general population were more likely than men to give positive ratings of the police, but

¹⁸ Owing to the small sample size of older women, the 45-54 and 55+ age groups were combined.

in marked contrast to Muslim women, there was little variation in attitudes with age.

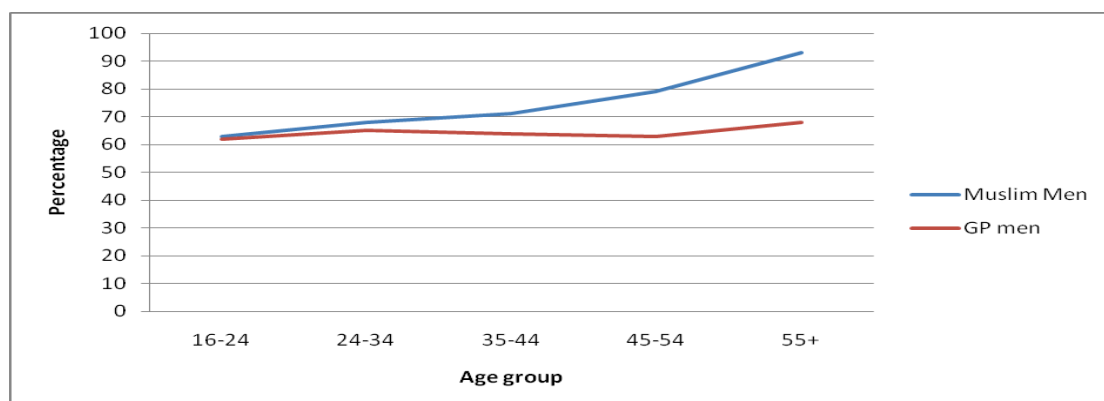
Figure 27: Percentage of Women Rating Local Police as 'Excellent' or 'Good'.



Source: British Crime Survey 2008/9

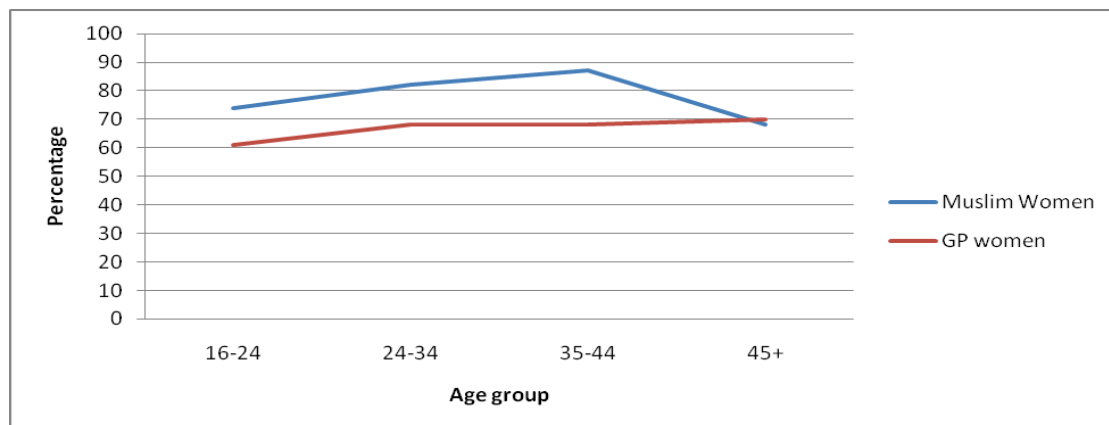
A different indicator of peoples' views about policing centres on how much confidence they have in them. Figure 28 shows the percentage of men who agreed that, having taken everything into account, they had confidence in the police in their local area. Unlike police ratings, there was no difference in police confidence among young men aged 16-24, with just over 60 percent of Muslims and the general population agreeing that they were confident in their local police. However, the same trend of more positive attitudes with older age was then found for Muslim men, albeit more modestly than for ratings of the police.

Figure 28: Percentage of Men with Confidence in the Local Police



Source: British Crime Survey 2008/9

Figure 29: Percentage of Women with Confidence in the Local Police



Source: British Crime Survey, 2008/9

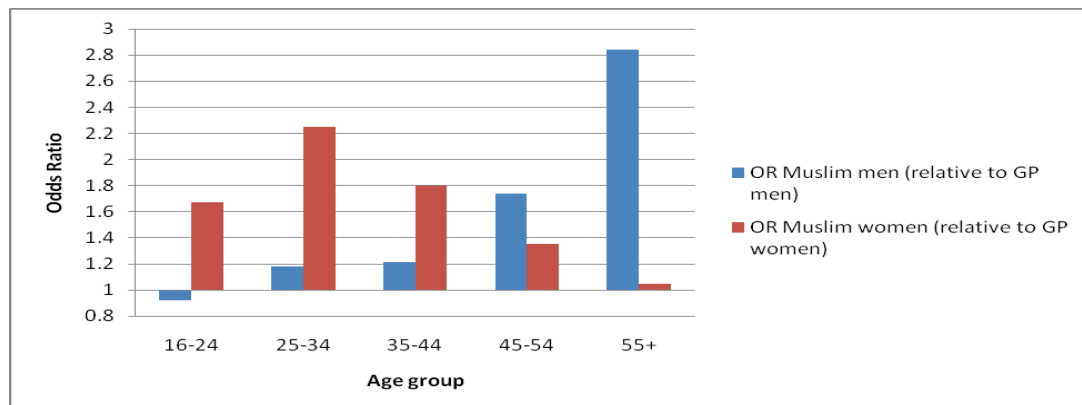
Police confidence among Muslim women was higher than for men in the younger age groups, starting at over 70 percent for 16-24 year olds and peaking at 86 percent for the 35-44 age group (Figure 29). However, in common with the profile for police ratings among Muslim women, those aged 45+ were less likely than other age groups to give a positive appraisal of the local police. Police confidence for Muslim women at this age was also slightly below confidence among women aged 45+ in the general population. Although objectively confidence in the police remains high, it is notable that attitudes dramatically change for the worse on both indicators of police attitudes at this age.

Having established that attitudes towards the police differ markedly with age for Muslim men and women, we now use a multivariate logistic regression modeling technique to simultaneously control for the main effects of age and gender on attitudes among the Muslim and general population. Figure 30 displays a series of 'Odds Ratios' (ORs) for Muslim men and women that compare them with their counterparts in the general population. An OR greater than 1 is indicative of a higher likelihood of Muslims giving the police a positive rating relative to the population in general, whilst an OR less than 1 shows a lower likelihood (for a more detailed discussion of this method see the Appendix). The blue bars in the figure show how Muslim men in each age group were likely to rate the police relative to general population men.

- For 16-24 year olds, the blue bar falls below the value 1.00, indicating that young Muslim men were less likely to give positive police ratings than their general population counterparts at this age.

This was reversed for each age group thereafter, with the OR's steadily increasing with age for Muslim men. Muslim men in the oldest age group (55+) were more than 2.5 times more likely to rate the police as 'excellent' or 'good' than men in general. The greatest differential between Muslim women and women in general was at age 24-34 (OR 2.25). Muslim women in all age groups were more likely than other women to rate the police positively, although this effect was very modest in the oldest age group (55+) – at the same age of such marked differences among men.

Figure 30: Logistic Regression Ratios Showing Likelihood of Muslims Rating the Local Police as ‘Excellent’ or ‘Good’ Relative to the General Population by Gender and Age Group



Source: British Crime Survey 2007/8 and 2008/9

The same method was used to run separate logistic regression models for white and Black African Caribbean respondents in order that age and gender differences in police perceptions could be compared. In both cases, the models (not shown) revealed a pattern that differed to Muslims. Young white or Black African Caribbean men (aged 16-24) had attitudes towards the police that were comparable to the population in general. Older age among white men was associated with a more negative attitude towards the police relative to the general population and for Black African Caribbean men attitudes tended to be relatively more positive with the exception of the 24 to 34 age group. For white and Black African women, the ORs were often more negative relative to the population in general, particularly for young Black women and white women over the age of 25. In neither of these groups, were the stark gender differences found for Muslims replicated namely greater positivity in older age for men but the opposing trend for women.

A degree of support for this contention that some young Muslim men express negative views is present within the qualitative interview data. For example, in the discussions in Cardiff with young people and with youth workers it was identified that some individuals were, in their private conversations with each other, voicing very negative sentiments and radical ideas. They were interpreting both local and international events in ways that resonated with aspects of Al-Qaeda's single narrative. Locally the communities were mobilising to challenge these views and provide a counter-narrative.

Using the survey data, it is impossible to untangle whether the age effects on attitudes towards the police are generational or reflect a life-course effect, that is, both the accumulated experiences and current living situation of people in a particular stage of life. Older generations of men, for example, may more readily accept and value police authority than subsequent generations whose living circumstances and life opportunities differ markedly from their predecessors.

From a life-course perspective, women's attitudes may change as they become mothers and as their children grow up in the local community. Support for this

interpretation is provided by some of the in-depth interviews. For example, one woman discussed how,

“My mum, she’s like over 60, yet she’s very negative about the police, yet she’s not had a bad experience...She just keeps saying the police are racist...So she’s not had a bad experience and I don’t know whether it’s just hearsay or rumours...because my younger brother, who’s now in his early 30s, when he was a teenager he kind of went off the rails and he was always getting into trouble with the police and maybe my mum thinks back to that period in her life.” (Community, 2659-26)

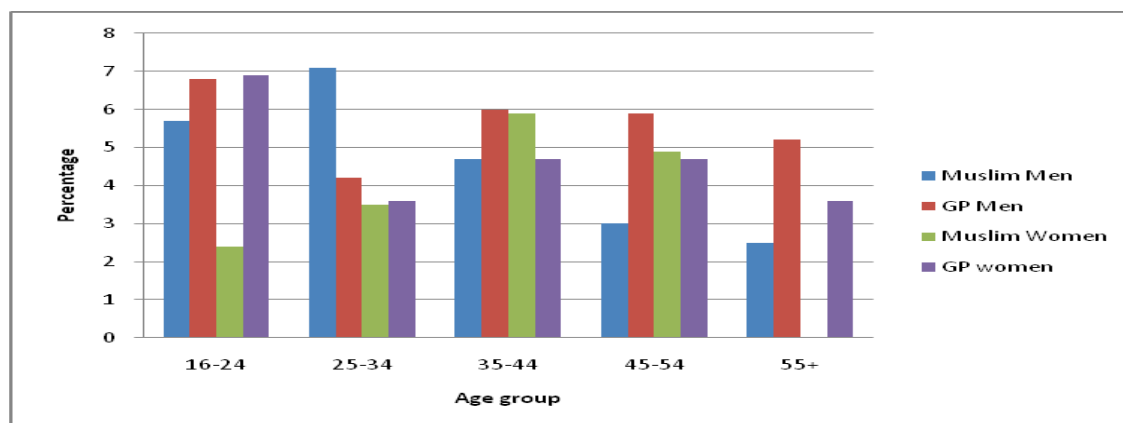
The marked attitude change among older Muslim women may, in some cases, reflect a time when their own children reach adolescence or young adulthood and come into contact with local police. It is important then to consider how people’s attitudes towards the police may be formed, changed or sustained through their own experience and those of others close to them.

Attitude Clustering

We now investigate whether or not there is any evidence of a ‘clustering’ of negative attitudes among Muslim men and women concerning the police. This was based on responses to the two key attitudes analysed in this chapter so far, namely: police ratings (how would you rate the police in your local area); police confidence (how confident are you that they are doing a good job); and another attitude focusing on whether police understand issues affecting the local community.

The first analysis centres on those who gave any negative response to *all* of these three items, that is, they ‘disagreed’, ‘strongly disagreed’ or responded that the police were ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’. Figure 31 shows how responses clustered by age for Muslims and the general population. The first thing to note for all groups is that the percentage displaying any negative attitude across these three attitudes was very low – less than 1 in 10. Negativity among Muslim men was concentrated among those aged 34 and under, with the percentage giving any negative response across attitudes markedly lowering after this age. For Muslim women, the opposite trend was observed with a higher percentage of women in the 35-44 and 45-54 age groups displaying a negative attitude than younger women. For men and women in the general population, any negativity was greatest in the youngest age group (16-24) and in older age remaining higher among men than women.

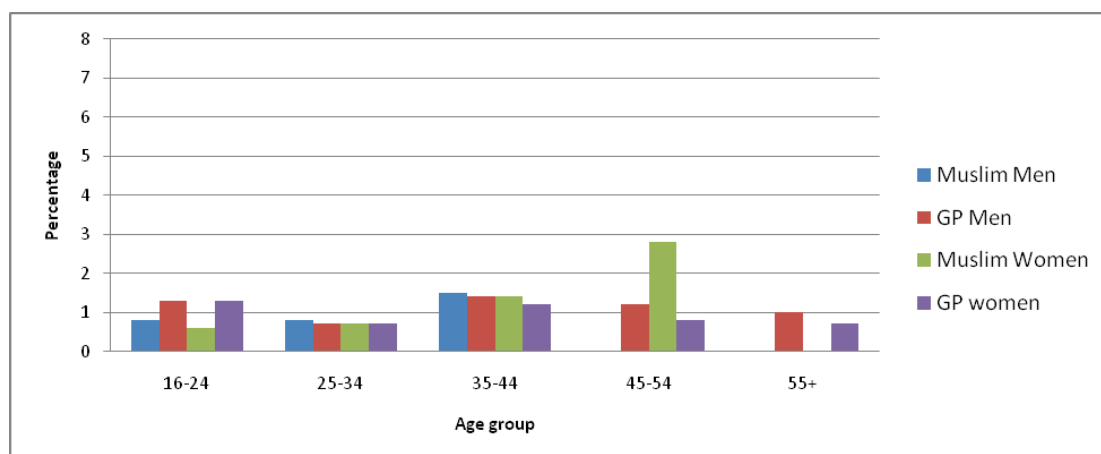
Figure 31: 'Any Negative' Responses Across Three Attitudes on Policing by Age



Source: British Crime Survey, 2007/8 and 2008/9

When the same questions were examined, but only 'extreme' negative responses to all three items examined ('strongly disagree' or 'very poor'), the proportion of the sample included was less than three percent (Figure 32). The results did not suggest that extreme negativity concentrated among young Muslims, rather the most disaffected group of Muslims on this indicator was women aged 45 to 54 years. For young Muslim men, those who displayed a clustering of 'very negative' attitudes towards the police was less than 1 percent and below that of men in the general population. Although negativity peaked among Muslim men at age 35-44, it disappeared thereafter with no recorded responses of extreme negative responses across the three attitudes.

Figure 32: 'Very Negative' Responses Across Three Attitudes on Policing by Age



Source: British Crime Survey 2007/8 and 2008/9

Such findings follow the broader pattern, previously established, that suggests that the perceptions and attitudes of individuals from the Muslim faith are not particularly remarkable when compared with people drawn from different backgrounds. The importance of this lies in the fact that Muslim communities have undoubtedly been the principal focus of Prevent activities, and yet their views are largely similar to those groups that have not been the focus of Prevent.

There may be some people who are being disenfranchised by aspects of Prevent policing but this does not appear to be a general effect.

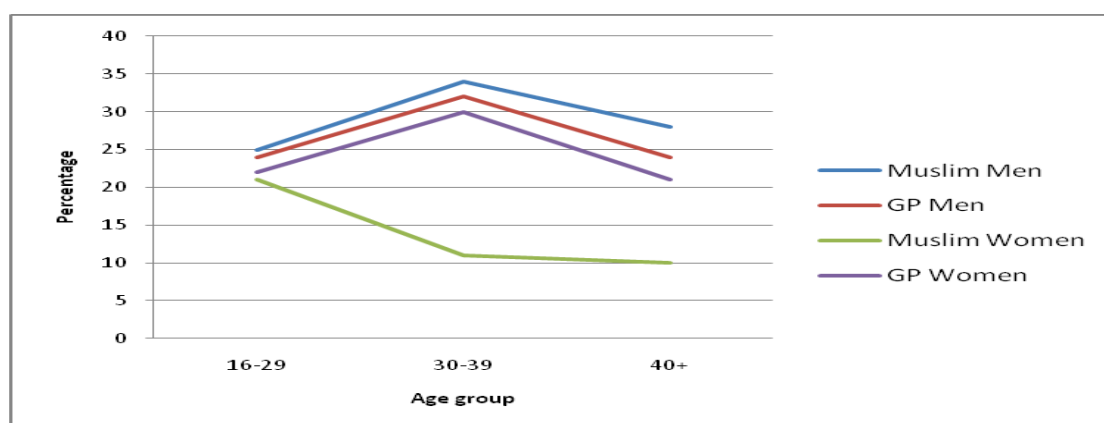
Police contact

An additional indicator of the relationship between Muslims and the police centres on whether or not they have had any reported contact with them. In the BCS this measure focuses on respondent initiated contact over the last twelve months. Although police contact is not directly an attitudinal measure, it may go some way towards constructing and reflecting people's feelings towards the police, and is indicative of the level of interaction between specific groups and the police. When this measure was simply examined separately for Muslims and the general population, there was no difference in reported contact, with 24 percent in each group reporting police contact in the last twelve months.

Figure 33 shows however that this result conceals wide age and gender differences in police contact. For men and women in the general population, police contact peaked for adults in their 30s at approximately 30 percent of women and 33 percent of men. Younger adults (16-29) or older (40 or above) had equivalent lower levels of police contact at around the 25 percent mark.

What is striking for the Muslim population is firstly that, when contact is broken down by gender, it revealed that Muslim men in each age group had the highest rates of police contact. The overall age trend for Muslim men was the same as for the general population with a peak in the middle age group. The second striking observation is that the nature of police contact for Muslim women is completely different from the other groups. Contact was around 20 percent for young Muslim women (16-29), lower than for women in the general population and for men, but it then became substantially lower with older age. At age 30-39 and 40+, barely 1 in 10 Muslim women reported contact with the police, far lower than for any of their contemporaries in age, gender or faith group. Whilst one interpretation of this finding might be positive – that Muslim women initiate less contact with the police because they themselves experience less crime or disorder – it is notable that the tail-off in police contact coincides with their falling satisfaction with the police. It would seem that Muslim women, for whatever reason, have little contact or interaction with the police.

Figure 33: Reported Contact with the Police in the Last 12 Months

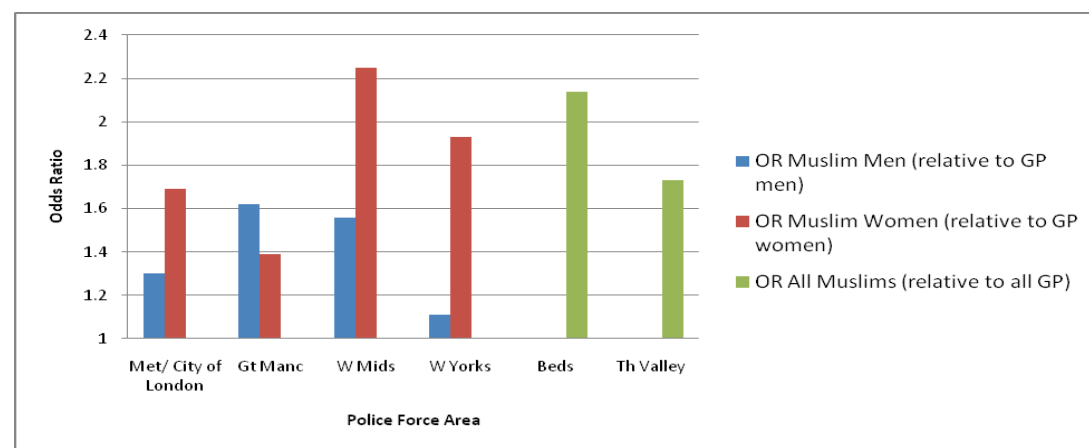


THE LOCAL EFFECTS OF PREVENT POLICING

The empirical analysis for this report concludes by focusing on three Police Force Areas (PFAs) of high density Muslim populations that also formed part of the qualitative analysis in this report – namely London, Greater Manchester and the West Midlands.¹⁹ The purpose of this is to try to integrate the findings about the differing ways of organising and delivering Prevent, with an assessment of public-facing outcomes.

Figure 34 uses multivariate logistic regression to examine the likelihood of Muslim men and women giving the police a positive rating in each locality, relative to their counterparts in the general population. Odds Ratios were also calculated for two additional areas (Bedfordshire and Thames Valley) providing a bench-mark against which to assess the results. The blue bars for the PFAs show that Muslim men were more likely than men in the general population to rate the police positively in each of the three PFAs. This was particularly the case in the Greater Manchester PFA (OR 1.62) and the West Midlands PFA (OR 1.56). Among women, the greater propensity of Muslims to view the police as ‘excellent’ or ‘good’ was even more marked. In the West Midlands PFA, for example, Muslim women were more than two times more likely to give this rating than women in general. This analysis within small areas is therefore in agreement with the reporting of more positive police ratings among Muslims within the sample as a whole.

Figure 34: Logistic Regression Ratios Showing Likelihood of Muslims Rating Local Police as ‘Excellent’ or ‘Good’ Relative to the General Population by Gender and PFA



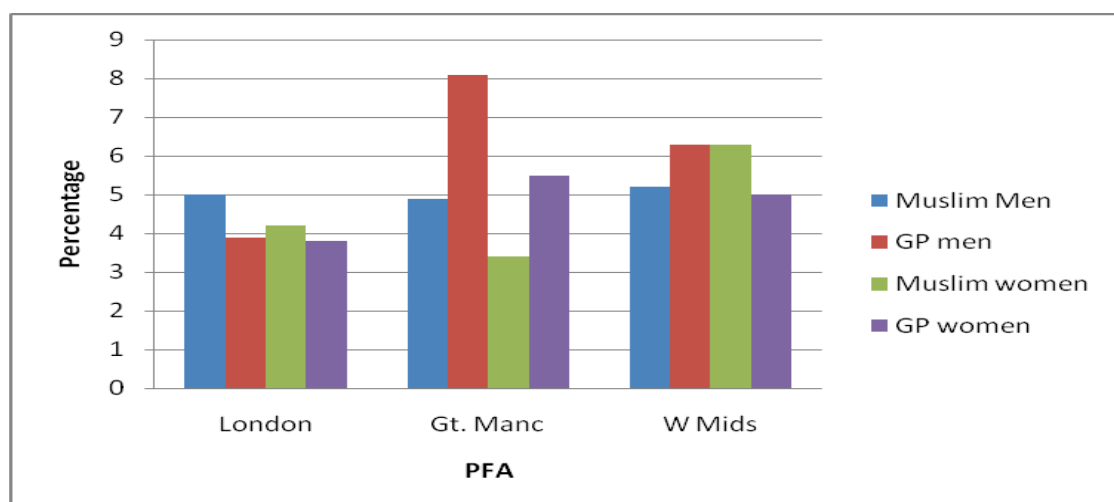
Source: British Crime Survey, 2007/8 and 2008/9

Also within PFAs, it was possible to investigate any clustering of negative attitudes towards the police. Figure 35 shows the percentage that had ‘any negative’ responses across three attitudes towards the police: police confidence,

¹⁹ The numbers of Muslims sampled by the BCS in Cardiff and South Wales was too small to permit this form of analysis.

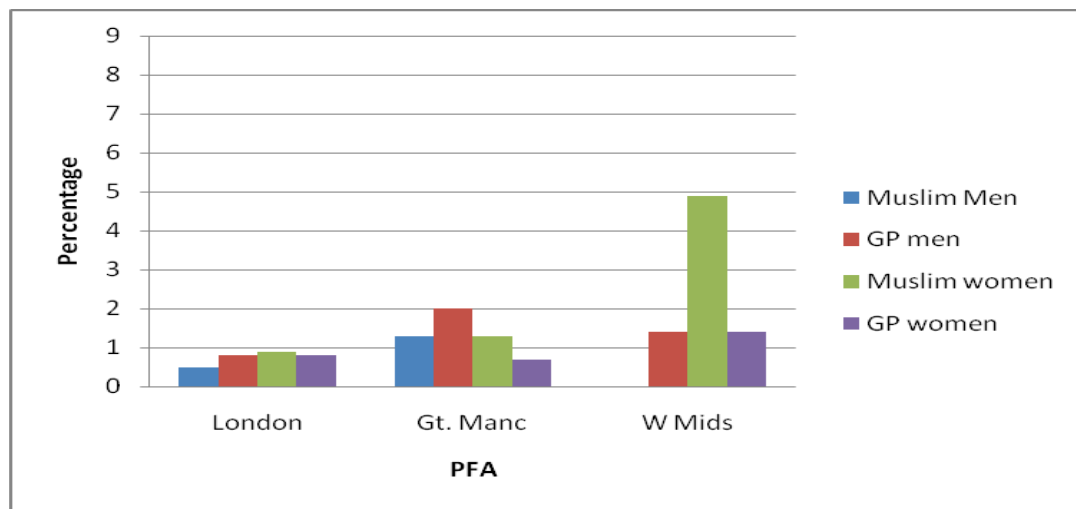
police ratings; and believing that the police understand local community issues. The percentage negative on all three questions was below 10 percent for each PFA. Only in London/Met were Muslim men more likely than any other group to express a consistently negative attitude and the magnitude of this difference was modest. In the other areas, negativity among Muslim men was below that observed for men in the general population. Within the West Midlands PFA, Muslim women were more likely than Muslim men to express a consistently negative attitude towards the police. This was evident in Figure 35 for 'any negativity' but was particularly marked when 'very negative' attitudes were examined (Figure 36). Nearly 5 percent of Muslim women in the West Midlands PFA were very negative about the police across three questions. Although this represents a small proportion of the sample, it was greater than that found among the general population and this degree of negativity was non-existent among Muslim men living in the same area. Figure 36 confirms that the negativity among Muslim men in London/Met did not apply to 'very negative' responses – when these were examined the percentage was lower for Muslim men than for Muslim women and the population in general.

Figure 35: Responses Across Attitudes for PFA's – 'Any Negative'



Source: British Crime Survey 2007/8 and 2008/9

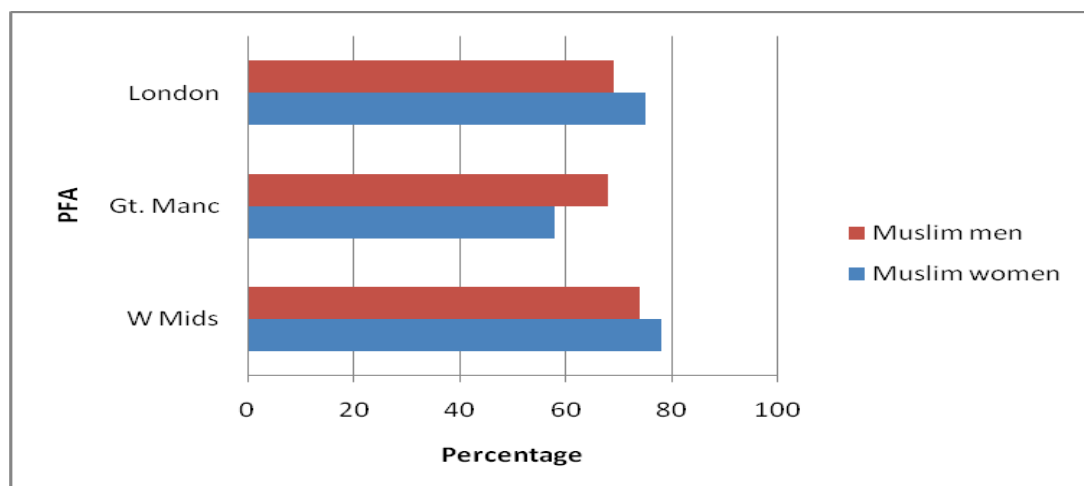
Figure 36: Responses Across Attitudes for PFAs – ‘Very Negative’



Source: British Crime Survey, 2007/8 and 2008/9

The three PFAs differed in terms of levels of confidence in local policing. Figure 37 shows that overall confidence was high among Muslim women, with approximately three quarters in the West Midlands and London PFAs agreeing that they had confidence in the police. This was markedly lower for women in the Greater Manchester PFA at only 58 percent.

Figure 37: Percentage of Muslims With Confidence in the Local Police by PFA and Gender

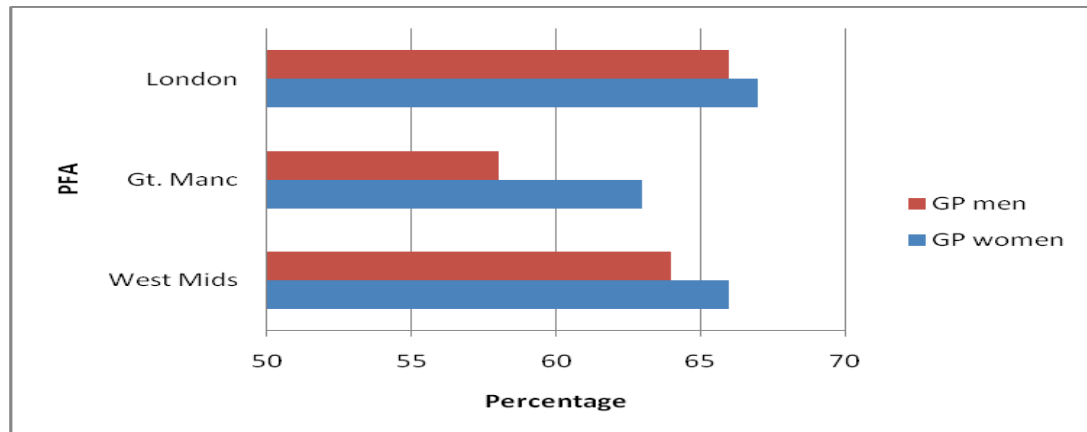


Source: British Crime Survey 2007/8 and 2008/9

Figure 38 suggests that the finding of lower police confidence among respondents living in the Greater Manchester PFA was not limited to the Muslim population. Among the population in general, confidence was lowest for both

men and women in this area, with both West Midlands and London PFAs eliciting greater levels of police confidence.

Figure 38: Percentage of General Population With Confidence in the Local Police by PFA and Gender



Source: British Crime Survey, 2007/8 and 2008/9

SUMMARY

This Chapter has sought to develop and elaborate aspects of the position worked out in the preceding Chapter. It has identified:

- Specific demographic effects in that younger Muslim men and older Muslim women are more likely to express negative views about policing;
- Area effects, in that a comparative analysis across three areas suggests there are marked differences in levels of community satisfaction, confidence and police contact.

A further interesting point is that Greater Manchester seems to fair less well on these measures when compared with London and the West Midlands. This is of note because the qualitative observations implied that the processes and systems in place in Manchester, at both community and police levels, were perhaps less developed and robust than in the other sites.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This research is the most comprehensive study conducted to date, in terms of empirically assessing the delivery and effects of Prevent policing. Informed by a combination of national BCS survey data and in-depth qualitative interviews, it reveals that:

- The key processes and practices associated with Prevent policing have evolved and adapted to become more sophisticated in recent years, with new processes and practices obtaining increasing traction;
- Community reactions to this domain of police work are more nuanced and complex than much media and political rhetoric would suggest.
- There remain opportunities for improvement and development that possess the potential to enhance the efficacy of Prevent policing.

Detailed analysis of the empirical data has found that:

- Consistently across a number of indicators and over time, UK Muslims express similar attitudes to the general population about policing. If anything, their views are more positive.
- Muslims are more affected by crime, disorder and fear of crime than the general population, though they are less likely to report being a victim of crime to the police.
- Young Muslim men tend to be less positive about the police. However, 45% of those surveyed still rated local policing as 'good' or very good'.
- Muslim women aged 45+, in contrast to Muslim men and women in the general population, tend to become more negative about the police. They also report fewer direct interactions with the police.

Collectively these findings have important implications for assessing Prevent policing. It has been asserted that Prevent is causing widespread alienation and disenfranchisement within Muslim communities because of how it has cast them generically as a 'suspect population'. The empirical evidence analysed for this report does not support this claim. Whilst some individuals and groups possess such attitudes, this does not appear to be a majority position. The cross sectional and time trend analyses of the national survey data, covering the period when Prevent has been introduced and implemented, indicate that Prevent policing is not causing detectable harm to police relations with Muslim communities.

The in-depth interviews illuminate why this is. Essentially, many Muslim respondents possess quite sophisticated positions on Prevent. The vast majority of those interviewed accept the basic premise that there is a societal problem with extremism that needs to be addressed and that police activity is a necessary part of managing this. It is relevant in understanding why they hold these views that 11 out of the 12 Mosques and Islamic Societies consulted as part of this research reported having been approached on multiple occasions by representatives of proscribed groups.²⁰ There was perhaps more ambiguity about some of the less well-defined and wide-ranging components of the Prevent programme. There was also criticism of many police interventions. However,

²⁰ Several others declined to participate in the research.

these were frequently tempered by other examples where the police had 'got it right'.

The evidence examined by this study suggests that broadly speaking, people within Muslim communities have adopted one of three main positions that lie on a continuum:

- Advocates: these individuals tend to accept the argument that there is a problem with the potential for radicalisation within UK Muslim communities that needs to be dealt with. Whilst not uncritical of the police at times, their overarching view is that the net effects of policing are more positive than negative.
- Anti- Prevent: at the other end of the continuum are those individuals who are disenchanted by and alienated from the police.
- Non-aligned: are individuals whose perceptions and attitudes shift according to the unfolding of events. At times they are more supportive of the police, however, particularly when the police are seen to have over-reached their remit, they adopt a more anti- stance.

This segmentation of community attitudes mirrors the findings reported by Slucka (1989) in his study of community reactions to terrorism and counter-terrorist policing in Belfast.²¹ Slucka identified a further segmentation effect in that the supporters of the terrorist groups could be differentiated between those providing 'soft' and 'hard' support. This was subsequently extended by Roberts (2011) in a fieldwork based study of gun crime, where a similar pattern was detected in relation to pro-social groups.²² By introducing this additional distinction it is possible to craft a more refined analysis, separating out those providing financial and material support to terrorist campaigns, from those who provide more subjective and moral impetus. There is a strong sense, based upon the evidence reviewed for the current study, that a similar framework can be usefully applied to Islamist violent extremism.

The need to develop a more nuanced understanding of how Prevent works pervades several other issues that have been discussed. A key concern of the strategy has been to establish trust and engagement mechanisms that mean that where problems are presenting within a community people are willing to go to report them to police. The evidence, particularly from the qualitative research conducted, suggests though that Muslim communities retain a preference for dealing with problems internally using informal social control without involving the police. It is only if such efforts fail and the perceived risks tend to escalate that seeking police involvement may occur.

It is difficult to know whether this preference to invoke informal social control is a limitation induced by patchy implementation, or more pragmatically that this is simply how things are. If the latter, then we might need to think in terms of a

²¹ Slucka, J. (1989) *Hearts and Minds, Water and Fish: Support for the IRA and INLA in a Northern Ireland Ghetto*. JAI Press: Connecticut.

²² Roberts, C. (2011) *In Control? A Study of Responses to Gun Violence in Brixton*. Guildford: University of Surrey.

‘threshold’ model for Prevent. According to such a model, police engagement within and across communities becomes particularly important so that, if a particular threat becomes especially pronounced, there is an established channel of communication. It is not necessary, under such arrangements, for police-community communication channels to be always active and ‘on’. Rather, the critical requirement is that they can be easily activated when needed.

The implementation of Prevent policing has represented a significant shift in the orientations of counter-terrorism in the United Kingdom. The process of implementation has proceeded at different paces in different parts of the country, but broadly speaking it can be divided into three main phases:

- Phase One – associated with the initial formulation of the CONTEST strategy sought to deliver the Prevent agenda in ways consistent with the established operating procedures for counter-terrorism work. That is, it was low-visibility and somewhat clandestine in nature. There was no real specific Prevent policing capacity or capability;
- Phase Two – involved a reconfiguration of assets as part of the ‘refresh’ of approach involved in CONTEST II. In this phase of activity, the organisation of Prevent staff and units was altered, but there was only limited innovation in terms of how public-facing services were delivered. In effect, there was a growing of capacity but it was still lacking defined Prevent capabilities.
- Phase Three – more recently (over the past six to eighteen months) it appears that, under the auspices of Prevent policing, new methods for doing counter-terrorism policing have been emerging and are being implemented. Central to this shift has been a far more open, visible and overt way of conducting Prevent policing, compared with previous incarnations.

The development of an overt counter-terrorist policing capacity and capability represents a profound change in direction. As these methods are ‘bedding down’ they are starting to offer new ways of countering the risks and threats posed by violent extremists. Just how far this is developing was described by an officer involved in a particularly progressive unit,

“I shan’t name venues, but there’s been a number of occasions where MI5 have been looking at a particular venue in [Name] for years. They’ve done a normal surveillance...And we’re at the point now in this force where we’re being tasked to go into these venues as open CTU officers and say ‘Hello, you know we’re local CTU!’ and we’ve done it and it’s worked.”

Developing this theme he continued to discuss how,

“Where the Service have got real concerns about a group of individuals, evidentially they can’t be locked up, let’s just ‘front them’ and I’ve done a number of those where I knock on the door ‘Oh can I come in, I’m from the counter-terrorism unit. I’m really concerned about what you’re doing or who you’re hanging around with, what you’re watching on the internet. If you carry on there’s a likelihood you might be arrested, but if you stop, if you want some support or if someone’s trying to get you to do

something you're not happy with, give me a call.' And I think we're doing more and more of those and to get to this point from how it was two years ago. To have that level of engagement and confidence in what we do from the Security Service is a massive step." [Police, 2659-12]

It is important not to over-state how much of this kind of work is actually taking place nor its ultimate potential. A number of respondents independently talked in detail about how they had been approached to become covert human intelligence sources, and the negative impacts this had upon their perceptions of the police and Prevent. Likewise, the more overt and disruption based methods can never wholly replace the use of covert ways of working that are sometimes required to counter terrorist threats.

However, the above examples and others like them in the data for this study do suggest that as Prevent policing is maturing and developing it is starting to derive some new methodologies that result in covert policing not always being the default option for counter-terrorist work. Such developments effectively provide a choice in how we collectively respond to terrorist threats. Covert policing methods can and will still be used, and the comparative advantage that they offer is that they take place largely out of sight and 'below the public radar' so causing minimal disruption to most peoples' everyday routines. The alternative is a more transparent and visible form of counter-terrorism policing that requires greater public awareness and legitimacy of the issues and risks in the 'dirty work' of defending democracy, and ultimately needs greater public participation to make it work.

Having surfaced these 'bigger picture' considerations, it is relevant that, whatever its proponents may consider, for many Prevent is a tainted brand. Much of the negativity attached to Prevent reflects a historical legacy stemming from poor initial implementation. Many of those interviewed stated that in the early set up period, funding had been inappropriately allocated to groups who were not delivering practical benefits. It was further asserted that in the early years Prevent policing lacked definition, method and clarity of purpose. Although many acknowledged that the situation has improved, Prevent policing still has to confront its legacy problems. The evidence is unequivocal that the initial rush to introduce Prevent, the lack of definition accompanying its early incarnations, the lack of control over funding, and the sense in which methods were being worked out in the field 'on the run', has left a toxic endowment. This was recognised by police and communities alike. Every time the police make a mistake or error of judgement (such as Project Champion) this reheats the concerns and complaints that have their roots in Prevent's history.

In order to make sense of this complexity and how public perceptions and experiences of Prevent policing have evolved, it is perhaps helpful to differentiate between two positions - the 'strong' and 'weak' critiques. The 'strong' critique of Prevent policing is the more trenchant, politically charged and fundamental in its orientations. It posits that both the original concept and implementation of Prevent has been flawed, and has failed to deliver its stated outcomes. The evidence available for this study suggests that this is a position held by a minority of individuals. In contrast, the 'weaker' critique broadly

accepts the concept of trying to Prevent and inhibit social processes of radicalisation, but is more questioning of some of the methods, techniques and approaches that have been applied. This position does have greater traction within UK Muslim communities. However, the evidence does suggest that, over the past three years, there have been improvements in the delivery of Prevent policing that are proving more successful in findings ways to engage Muslim communities and secure their participation.

There is a wider significance attached to this finding in terms of the overall tenor of public debate. To date, much of the discussion around the Prevent programme has been about 'who' not 'how.' That is, concern has pivoted around questions about who has received funding and is appropriate for the authorities to work with. This research suggests that in fact what is required is more of a focus upon 'how' Prevent policing activities are conducted and can be rendered more effective.

Such 'how' considerations are important for the future development of Prevent inasmuch as looking across the four research sites it is clear that Prevent is being implemented on the basis of different key processes and systems. The local models display varying strengths and weaknesses, and are achieving different results. It is the view of the research team that the delivery of Prevent policing is more robust in some of the areas than others.

Set against this backdrop, the research has identified that Prevent policing now typically takes place through four principal modes of intervention:

- Protective – is where the police own the intervention in terms of defining the problem to be addressed and undertaking the response;
- Mobilisation – where the community engages in self-help behaviours to deal with a perceived threat.
- Type 1 Co-production – is the orthodox notion of collaborative working wherein the community seeks police involvement to tackle a problem;
- Type 2 Co-production – involves the police utilising community based informal social control resources to manage a problem. To the best of our knowledge this mode of doing policing through a community has not been previously identified, and may be a unique property of Prevent policing activity.

That these different modal interventions were observed across the sites indicates that Prevent policing is evolving and developing rapidly and is becoming increasingly nuanced in its approach 'on the ground'. In particular, Type 1 and Type 2 co-productions were far less evident when data was collected between 2003-05. In part, these adaptations may reflect some of the challenges associated with policing violent extremism. Many of the problems encountered involve forms of anti-social behaviour that are offensive and undesirable, but often on the margins of legality. As such, police are having to craft new forms of response. Hence their turn to disruptive interventions and increasing reliance upon community activism.

The assessment of the research team is that more work is required to develop understanding of how disruptive interventions can be used in practice. Acting to disrupt the activities of extremist groups lies at the 'harder-edge' of Prevent policing. However, when compared with those components utilising 'soft power', there seemed to be less awareness and confidence amongst key practitioners about 'what works'.

A more subtle reform that may be required as Prevent continues to evolve in these ways relates to how police ascribe 'value' to individuals within communities. There is a long tradition within policing of the 'high value informant' and working to cultivate and protect certain individuals because of their ability to access particular kinds of information. The kinds of developments mapped out in relation to Prevent, particularly around the growth in co-productive working, suggest that a similar process needs to be developed for community networkers. The interviews with both police and community representatives identify that there are certain individuals who are of value, not because of what they know, but who they know. They are effective social networkers, who can connect different groups and factions, and mobilise them into action.

Such developments do however, present new challenges for Prevent practitioners. In particular, when individuals and communities 'push-back' against extremist groups, how can police act to protect the defenders? This may require new tactics and approaches. Such concerns are especially acute where communities are mobilising entirely outside formal Prevent programme structures. Some individuals choose to work outside of Prevent because they believe it provides them with more credibility and effectiveness. However, it is clear that such individuals sometimes encounter intimidation and threats to their personal safety. The challenge for the police is how to provide some form of protection in such circumstances on the basis that sustaining these forms of self-help activism are important for underpinning community resilience.

This connects to an additional conclusion of this work. Effective Prevent policing integrates defensive and offensive measures. The more defensive orientation is grounded in examining the state of a community and constructing interventions to reduce its vulnerability. This is different to working more offensively to counteract specific threats. Developing this more sophisticated conceptual apparatus would help to enhance the role of Counter-Terrorism Local Profiles and render them more diagnostic than descriptive.

Moving towards a more sophisticated conceptual framework reflects how the risks and threats being encountered are shifting, as a consequence of which the focus of Prevent policing is being required to adapt. One particular illustration of this, highlighted through the fieldwork, is how a specific Prevent project is being used to co-ordinate a response to vulnerable adults with mental health needs. There is a concern that such individuals might be susceptible to the influence of extremist groups and as such they need support. One could argue that such individuals do not and indeed should not come within the remit of a counter-terrorism programme. However, it was suggested that without deploying such resources, these individuals might be overlooked by standard service providers.

This connects to a concern about funding and budgets. In the past, Prevent has been comparatively well funded and resourced. In light of the significant reductions in public spending on policing, there is an obvious question about whether these funding levels can or should be sustained? The focus of concern in this respect should not just be about funds directly allocated to Prevent, but also the wider implications of funds being withdrawn across the public sector. For as one community respondent involved in intensive counter-extremism interventions described it,

‘They’re not interested in anything Prevent related in the Council. They used to be. They used to be very good actually, but you know they’re in turmoil. They’ve had massive cuts and unfortunately it seems to be that the way they’re making a lot of their savings is by just stopping their funding to the delivery partners in the third sector.’ (Community, 2659-28)

Albeit the national counter-terrorism budget has been relatively protected from funding cuts, it is inevitable that reductions will have to be made. This need not be disastrous, as most of those interviewed identified areas where the easy availability of funding had not ‘added value’. However, if such reductions are not to have a significantly detrimental impact upon service delivery, then the critical issue seems to be how available budgets are structured.

It would help to separate available funding streams in terms of whether they are intended to be directed towards macro-, meso- or micro- objectives. Macro objectives are longer-term structural issues that need to be addressed. These can be differentiated from ‘meso-level’ medium range aims. Separate funding should be made available for seeding highly localised ‘rapid-response’ interventions. Several instances where these kinds of funding could not be secured were encountered in the data. Moving to this more structured funding arrangement could be further enhanced by distinguishing between that directed towards ‘offensive’ and ‘defensive’ measures.

Re-thinking the funding framework for Prevent in this way appears to be vital. The case examples identified during the fieldwork suggest that ‘pace’ is frequently as important as ‘scale’ in shaping the effectiveness of Prevent interventions. That is, being able to fund communities or the police to respond in an agile manner as and when risks present, seems to be important in preventing any such risks from acquiring traction.

The introduction of Prevent policing constitutes a major system change in UK policing. It is because of this that it has taken some time for a ‘space’ to be carved out, in terms of where Prevent sits in relation to other aspects of what the police do. Reflecting the significance of the change, there is an ongoing internal debate within the police between more progressive and established perspectives, about where the balance between Prevent and more traditional CT approaches lies. This does seem to be shaping how individual forces are implementing national guidance and their approach to Prevent overall. On the basis of the work conducted though, it does appear that key methods and tactics for conducting Prevent are, as this report has demonstrated, starting to be clarified and refined from practice. Some of these depend upon the application of ‘soft power’

resources, but others are distinctly more 'harder-edged'. Indeed, in many ways it appears that the pace of change in terms of 'on-the-ground' delivery Prevent has outstripped the policy framework. Adopting an evidence-led approach and the kinds of findings reported herein will help to determine what works and what doesn't in terms of preventing the onset of individual and collective risks of violent radicalisation.

APPENDIX – DATA AND METHOD

The research design for this study is based upon a mixed method approach. It combines quantitative data from a national survey with in-depth qualitative interviews. The former provides the basis for a 'broad brush' analysis that allows us to examine significant patterns and trends in Muslim perceptions and attitudes, and how these compare with those of the general population. This is important in that many studies of the Muslim faith community are typically based upon a very limited number of respondents. These quantitative data are complemented by 95 in-depth semi-structured interviews with Prevent police officers and community representatives. These data afford a 'high resolution' investigation of the effects of Prevent policing, in a way that is just not possible solely using survey data.

The interviews were conducted in four areas of England and Wales. These areas were selected on the basis that three of them had been used in the preceding empirical report published by the authors in 2007. Thus by revisiting these areas, and comparing the data collected at the two points in time, the aim was to try and understand how the delivery of Prevent policing has evolved and developed over time. Given the focused investigation in these areas, when the attempt was made to use the BCS to assess local area effects, a decision was taken to use these same areas as base units for analysis.

A fourth site (Cardiff) was though added to the original three. The reason for this was that during the preparation for the fieldwork it became evident that the threat profile in the City had shifted. In particular, there were signs that the community were mobilising in interesting ways in respect of the new risks. It was therefore agreed with the project sponsors that this would be a good opportunity to study a specific situation as it unfolded in 'real-time'.

QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

The survey data analysed in this report was from the British Crime Survey (BCS), a large and nationally representative survey of private households in England and Wales conducted on behalf of the Home Office. This survey provides the most comprehensive source of information about public attitudes to crime and policing, how much they worry about crime(s) and their contact with the police. The BCS also contains geographic identifiers of police force area (PFA), allowing for comparison of attitudes within and between different areas.

The survey allows for the identification of Muslim respondents based on responses to the question *'What is your religion, even if you are not currently practising?'* There were three approaches to data analysis:

1. Cross sectional analysis of the most recently available BCS data for 2008/9:
For 2008/9, the BCS sample contained 983 respondents who self-identified with the Muslim faith, constituting 4 percent of the whole sample. Analysis of this data focused on identifying overall differences and commonalities between Muslims and the general population.

2. Combined sample analysis of age and gender differences using a merged file of data from 2007/8 and 2008/9.

The small number of Muslim respondents included in any single year of the BCS, coupled with the youthful age structure of the Muslim population (over half in the 2008/9 survey were aged between 16 and 34), meant that cases were combined from two successive years of the BCS. Merging data from 2008/9 and 2007/8 increased the overall sample size to 1887 Muslims, sufficient for analysis of age and gender differences in attitudes. It also allowed for analysis of questions that were only asked to a small subset of the BCS sample in any given year, such as reported contact with the police.

Table A.1: Number of Muslim respondents in combined file by age and gender

| | 16-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55+ | N |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Muslim men | 159 | 305 | 271 | 136 | 113 | 984 |
| Muslim women | 165 | 314 | 248 | 97 | 76 | 900 |
| N | 324 | 619 | 519 | 233 | 189 | 1884 |

3. Time trend analysis of successive BCS surveys from 2004/5 to 2008/9;

Key attitude questions have been retained in the BCS over successive years of the survey. This means that time trends can be discerned over several years, in this instance from 2004/5 when the BCS first introduced a question allowing religious affiliation to be identified. It is important to note that in 2004/5, 2005/6 and 2006/7, the BCS was designed to secure a 'non white' ethnic booster sample. For our analysis, this has the advantage of increasing the number of Muslim respondents in these years, but it does exclude a small number of Muslims of white ethnicity in each year. In subsequent years, the BCS did not adopt an ethnic booster sample and Muslims were identified from the core sample only. The number of Muslim respondents and those excluded in each year are shown in table A.2.

Table A.2: Identification of BCS Muslim respondents for time trend analysis

| BCS sample | 2004-5* | 2005-6* | 2006-7* | 2007-8 | 2008-9 |
|---|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| N Muslims | 1786 | 1656 | 1801 | 904 | 983 |
| N Muslims of white ethnicity excl. | 74 | 74 | 94 | 0 | 0 |

* Analysis based on non white ethnic booster sample

Our analytic approach of comparing Muslims with a 'general population' (calculated by excluding all respondents who self-define as affiliating with the Muslim faith) enables areas of commonality and difference to be identified and compared with findings from the qualitative data in this report. However, owing to the design of the BCS it cannot be assumed that our Muslim group is nationally representative of all Muslims living in England and Wales, even in those years of

the BCS where an ethnic booster sample was applied. Moreover, the category of 'general population', will, by definition, be a heterogeneous one. The data presented in the report is, however, weighted in accordance with user guidelines for individual-based analyses to account both for the equal probability of selection and to adjust for differential non response.

Key Attitude Measures

Ratings of local police: 'How good a job area this police in this area doing?' ('Excellent' and 'good' are combined to indicate positive ratings of local police).

Police confidence: 'Taking everything into account, I have confidence in the police in this area' ('strongly agree' and 'agree' are combined to indicate a positive attitude on police confidence).

Respect: 'How much of a problem is people not treating other people with respect and consideration?' ('Very big problem' and 'fairly big problem' are combined to indicate respect is a problem).

Worry about crime: 'How worried are you about being the victim of crime?' ('Very worried' and 'fairly worried' are combined to indicate worry).

Community cohesion: 'This area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together' ('strongly agree' and 'agree' are combined to indicate cohesion). Note: this indicator was excluded from the 2008/9 survey.

Contact with police: If respondent has contacted police in the last 12 months ('yes' used to denote contact).

Derived Variables

Social disorder: A summed scale was computed using six questions on how far the following disorder(s) were perceived as a problem in the local neighbourhood: (1) teenagers hanging around (2) noisy neighbours (3) attack because of skin colour (4) people using or dealing drugs (5) people being drunk or rowdy (6) people being harassed or intimidated. The bottom third of the scale were identified as those experiencing 'high' levels of social disorder.

Physical disorder: A summed scale was computed using three questions on how far the following disorder(s) were perceived as a problem in the local neighbourhood: (1) vandalism or graffiti (2) abandoned or burnt out cars (3) rubbish or litter. The bottom third of the scale were identified as those experiencing 'high' levels of physical disorder.

Police effectiveness: A scale was computed from seven attitude items on attitudes to the police in the local area (Chronbach's $\alpha=.8$). These centered on whether or not 'the police in this area... : (1) can be relied on to be there when you need them (2) would treat you with respect if you had any contact with them (3) treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are (4) can be relied on to deal with minor crimes (5) understand the issues that affect this community (6) are dealing with the things that matter to this community and (6) taking everything

into account, I have confidence in the police in this area'. Attitudes were scored according to whether they were positive (agree), negative (disagree) or neutral (neither agree nor disagree). These scores were summed across the seven indicators and then divided by seven to give a scale ranging from 1 (low police effectiveness) to 3 (high police effectiveness).

Clustering of 'any negative' attitudes: any negative responses were counted across three attitudes: (1) ratings of local police ('poor' or 'very poor') (2) the police in this area understand the issue that affect this community ('disagree' or 'strongly disagree') and (3) I have confidence in the police in this area ('disagree' or 'strongly disagree'). A score of 3 on the resultant count indicated respondents who were negative on all three attitudes.

Clustering of 'very negative' attitudes: the same procedure was applied as above but only the extreme negative responses were counted, namely 'very poor' and 'strongly disagree'. A score of 3 on the resultant count indicated respondents who held a very negative viewpoint on all three attitudes.

Police Force Areas

The analysis by PFA focused on those areas where the number of Muslim respondents was great enough to ensure analysis by age and in most cases gender (base numbers equal 50 or above). These areas are shown in Table A.3:

Table A.3: Number of Muslim respondents in each PFA by BCS year.

| PFA | | BCS 2007/8 | BCS 2008/9 | Total in combined file |
|--------------------|---------|------------|------------|------------------------|
| Met/ London | City of | 284 | 371 | 655 |
| Greater Manchester | | 70 | 61 | 131 |
| West Midlands | | 73 | 67 | 140 |
| West Yorkshire | | 72 | 67 | 139 |
| Thames Valley | | 27 | 55 | 82 |

Data Analysis

All data was analysed using SPSS. Figures reported in tables and figures are based on data weighted by IndivWgt. Base numbers in the report are based on

unweighted data and no analyses are reported when the base number for any cell was less than 50 cases.²³

A variety of data analysis methods are used including: the crosstabulation of two or more variables; presentation of mean scores and correlation coefficients (Pearson's R squared) to show the direction and strength of association between two variables ranging in value from 0 (no correlation) to 1 (perfect correlation).

Multivariate analysis was conducted using the method of logistic regression. This requires a binary outcome or dependent variable and a number of independent or predictor variables are added to the model in order to account for their effects. In this analysis, key attitudes were examined by age (as a continuous variable), religion and PFA (as categorical variables) and run separately for men and women to illustrate gender differences.

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Across the four sites the original plan set out in the research design was to conduct 25 in-depth interviews in each area, comprising 5 police and 20 community representatives. However, this target of completing a total of 100 interviews was not accomplished for a variety of reasons. In particular, the process of contacting and actually interviewing community representatives transpired to be much harder than had been bargained for. Particularly given that the research team had previously conducted interviews in three of the areas it was anticipated that progress should have been made over a reasonable timescale.

The plan had been to access a sample of community representatives through two principal routes: (1) On the basis of police contacts; (2) By re-contacting respondents from the original study and using them to 'snowball' new potential respondents. The latter component was deemed as being important in order to avoid simply engaging with those individuals who were known to and sympathetic towards the police.

In all of the sites the police provided a list of contacts according to an initial criteria established by the research team, reflecting aspects of the local situation. However, actually getting to talk to these individuals and persuading them to agree to be interviewed proved taxing. In many cases it took days to actually get to speak to the individuals on the telephone. It turned out that a number of these individuals had multiple mobile phones. When appointments were made, there were numerous occasions where the individual concerned did not turn up or cancelled at short notice. Interestingly, this exercise may be indicative of the strength of the community engagement networks across the four sites. For example, it was noted that GMP whose community engagement strategy is premised upon the use of a network of intermediaries struggled to supply

²³ A Technical Appendix detailing all base data for Tables and Figures is available upon request from upsi@cardiff.ac.uk.

community interviewees and in the end only a handful were ever spoken to from that area.

Although the original sample size was not achieved, the aim of securing interviews with police staff of different ranks, and with community representatives both in contact and largely disengaged from the police was accomplished. The interview instruments used for the police and community representatives were slightly different as is standard for a semi-structured approach. Questions covered: the individual's background and position; their views about Prevent; the local threat environment; and how the delivery of Prevent policing could be improved in future. In all cases, the interviewing teams were encouraged to help respondents to talk about specific examples and cases that they were aware of, rather than relying upon abstract statements.

Data from the interviews were analysed using thematic coding techniques. Some of the codes were derived from the previous 2007 report, in order to facilitate a loose comparative analysis. Other codes though emerged more organically from within the data. Verbatim quotations reported in this document are included to evidence key points and are representative of comments made by several respondents. Limitations on space, and the vast amounts of interesting and detailed data elicited from the interviews prohibits more extensive discussion.

All of the interviews were tape-recorded and fully transcribed. When conducting the interviews all respondents were given the opportunity to request that the recording device be turned off at any time. This happened on a number of occasions and is perhaps to be expected given the sensitive nature of what is being discussed. Overall though, the interviews are extremely insightful because of the open and honest way in which the majority of the respondents responded to the questions.

CONSTRAINTS UPON THE ANALYSIS

In addition to the considerations outlined above, there are several further constraints and limitations on the analysis. Foremost is that the BCS does not ask any direct questions about experiences or perceptions of Prevent policing. Indeed, in a survey of the general population it would be difficult to do so, given the likely low levels of overall awareness. Accordingly, in this research the BCS is used to derive some indicators rather than direct measures of Prevent policing. They are indicators that treat Prevent policing interventions as part and parcel of a wider package of policing services. The presumption underpinning the study is that in their application in this way, these general indicators will be shaped and influenced by the performance of Prevent policing initiatives and interventions. Some support for this view can be extrapolated from the established research literature around the impacts upon general attitudinal, perceptual and experiential measures of policing, from negative police-public

interactions.²⁴ The point being that specific policing strategies and interventions have been shown to impact upon general indicators.

Where it is possible and appropriate to do so, the quantitative analysis is supported by data drawn from the semi-structured interviews. Within the overarching framework for the study's research design, the quotations provided in the report are used to illuminate and evidence key claims and issues. The quotations have been selected on the basis that they are illustrative and representative of thematic patterns present across the interviews conducted with different individuals.

²⁴ Skogan, W. (2006) "Asymmetry in the Impact of Encounters with Police," *Policing & Society* 16/3: 99–126.



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